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CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER

FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, HERMANN COLLITZ, TENNEY FRANK,
WILFRED P. MUSTARD, D. M. ROBINSON

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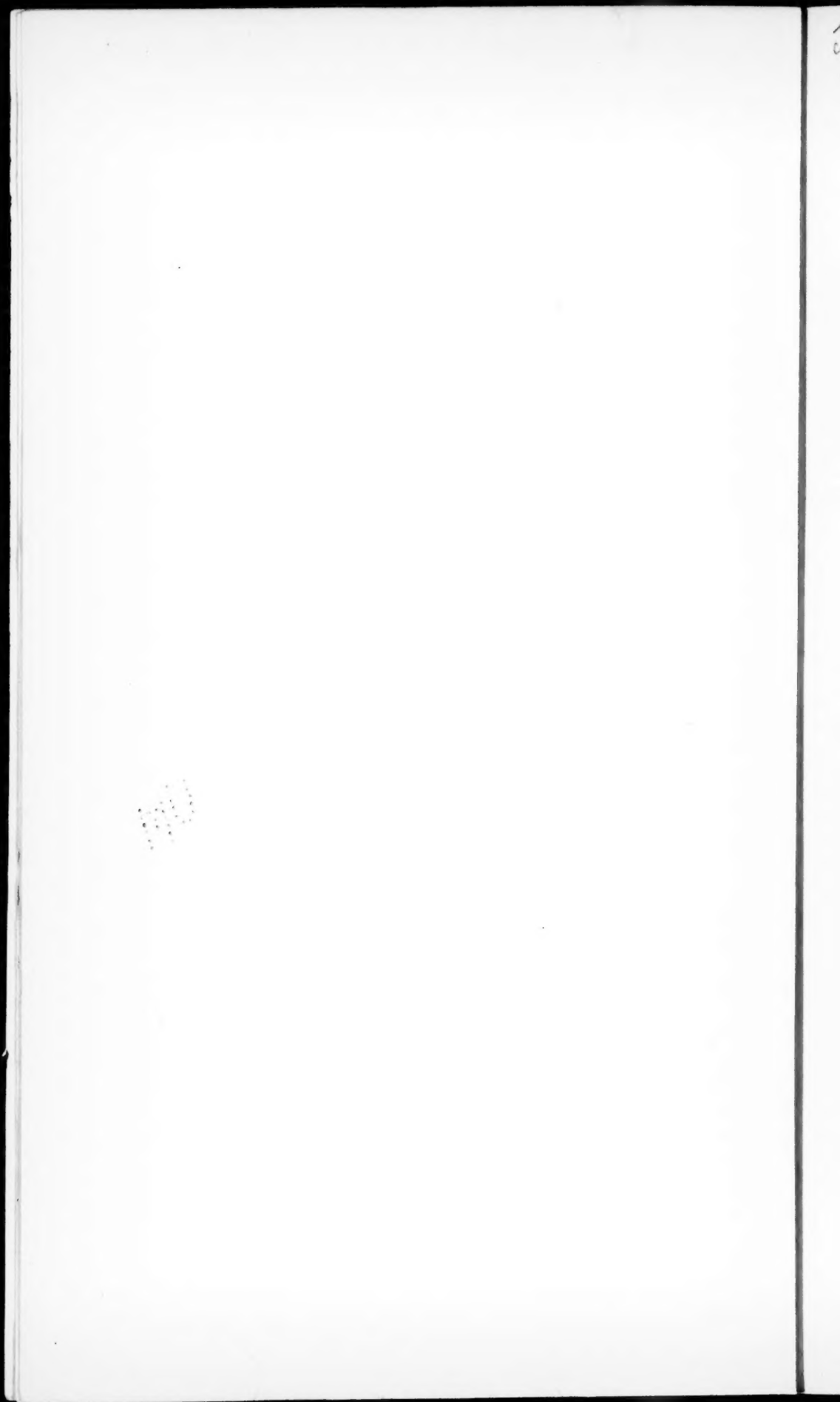
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WHOLE No. 189

MARKS OF QUANTITY IN THE MONUMENTUM ANTIOCHENUM.

In a paper published in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXI (1922), pp. 87 ff., I considered "The Use of Devices for Indicating Vowel Length in Latin" in the Monumentum Ancyranum, as well as in some other inscriptions. The new Monumentum Antiochenum of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti, published by Dr. Robinson in *A. J. P.* xlvii, pp. 1 ff., offers some interesting new material.

Before turning to this new material, a few words about the terminology of one of these devices would seem to be in place, since the usage of scholars differs widely. As to the *i* longa, used to designate long *i*, there seems to be general agreement. The mark used to indicate long quantity in the other vowels usually has the form of an acute accent. It was for a time supposed to be an accent, and although that idea was soon given up, the term "accent" is still applied to it by scholars who are perfectly well aware of its real purpose. By Latin epigraphists it is ordinarily called an "apex," a name which has the authority of Quintilian, Isidore, and several of the Roman grammarians. The only objection to the use of that term—if it be an objection—is that "apex" is applied by the Greek epigraphists to quite a different thing. Thus the Roberts-Gardner Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, under Inscriptions of Attica, pp. xv ff., says of certain letters: "The open ends of strokes and the angles where two strokes join are adorned with what are called apices, that is to say, minute cuts set at an angle of 45° to the main strokes, usually one on each side; where two

strokes meet, the apices sometimes take the form of a prolongation of each of the strokes." There are numerous examples of a similar use of the term by Greek epigraphists; in fact, it may be said to be a regular usage.

Important as these ornaments (if we may call them so) often are in determining the date of an inscription, they seem to have received but scant attention from Latin epigraphists. Ricci, *Epigrafia Latina*, p. 57, mentions them in these words: "Verso la fine del II^o secolo e durante il III^o le lettere subiscono la forma che loro vuol dare talora l'artifice, e appaiono o troppo lunghe o con apici alle estremità." On p. 45 Ricci uses the word "apex" also to designate the mark over a long vowel. Sandys in his *Latin Epigraphy* has "apex" in his Index with a reference only to its use as a designation of quantity, and apparently makes no mention at all of the "ornaments" referred to above. Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 63, in describing the different forms of the letter N, says that it was "at first unornamented, afterwards having partial ornamentation, and finally . . . becoming fully ornamented." Here he is obviously referring to what the Greek epigraphists call apices but he does not use that term. In describing the letter M he again uses the indefinite expression "ornamented," but also (p. 62) calls such ornaments cornua. The equivalent of cornua (*κεραία*) occurs in Greek as a designation of the so-called "apex," and cornua itself is used by Isidore (*Orig.* xvi. 27. 5), as well as in three glosses, *de extremis partibus litterarum*; see *T. L. L.* iv. 970. 57. The palaeographers frequently use the term "finials" for such ornaments, and either that name or cornua might well be generally adopted, both to avoid confusion, and also because "apex" (originally "top") is not properly applied to marks at the ends of horizontal lines, or at the bottom of vertical ones. But the attempt to reform grammatical nomenclature is notoriously a difficult matter.

In Latin the word apex, as applied to letters, is first used of the mark which indicates a long vowel (*Quint.* i. 7. 2-3). It is described accurately enough, in accordance with the original meaning of "top" or "summit," by Isidore (*Orig.* i. 4. 18), as follows: *apicem dictum pro eo, quod longe sit a pedibus et in cacumine litterarum apponitur. Est enim littera iacens super*

litteram aequaliter ducta. While Isidore calls the apex a separate "letter," it is possible, if not probable, that at first it was joined to the letter over which it stood. It is so found occasionally in inscriptions, and one such instance occurs in the *Frag. Ant.*: *Románum*, in the Heading, § 2. While in the strict sense of the word this might be termed a "true apex," it is in all probability accidental; at any rate such cases are extremely rare.

Quintilian (see also i. 4. 10), Isidore, and Terentius Scaurus (*De Orthog.* vii. 33. 5 f., K.) all define the apex as a means of designating long vowels, although the two former incorrectly speak of long syllables; and all agree that its purpose is to distinguish words which differ only in the quantity of one or more vowels, such as *populus* and *pōpulus*, *malus* and *mālus*, and the like. The T. L. L. rightly puts under this caption Quint. i. 4. 10, where *apice* has that meaning rather than "circumflex" (*L. C. L.* i. p. 159). But it is wrong in adding Quint. i. 5. 23, since there Quintilian is speaking of accent, rather than of quantity. Moreover, the text is corrupt and the reading *apice* is questioned.

As Isidore uses apex of the mark of quantity and at the same time calls it *littera*, so the word is used of the strokes which make up a letter, then of its form in general, and finally as the equivalent of *littera*. When it has the last-named meaning, it almost always, if not invariably, designates letters with special reference to their form; for example, *Macr.*, *Somn. Scip.* i. 6. 70, *septem vocales litterae a natura dicuntur inventae, licet Latinitas easdem modo longas modo breves pronuntiando quinque pro septem tenere maluerit. Apud quos tamen, si sonos vocalium non apices numeraveris, similiter septem sunt.* Here the sound of the letters is contrasted with their form. See also *Apul.*, *Metam.* xi. 22 (end), and especially *Heges.* v. 34. 2, *impressi illi ante fores templi apices elementorum (= γράμματα)*. The simple meaning "letter," rather than the form of the letter, is not common; it is perhaps illustrated by the verses of Ausonius discussed below, and it seems certain in *Auson.*, *Orat. ad Grat.* xvi. 74, *et adhuc obnoxii in paginis concrematis ductus apicum . . . cernebant*; cf. Quint. x. 2. 2, *sic litterarum ductus, ut scribendi fiat usus, pueri sequuntur*, and for the meaning "the

form of the letters" rather than "the lines of the lettering" (L. C. L. ii, p. 263), Cic., Fin. v. 47, nihil interest . . . qui ductus oris, qui vultus in quoque sit. The meaning "letter" is indicated by many of the metaphorical uses of the word, such as Ulpian, Dig. xvii. 1. 29. 4, de apicibus iuris disputare, and Hieron., contra Ioann. 3, ne punctum quidem et apicem calumniae transeas. It is made certain by the third meaning of the word; for just as the plural litterae means an epistle, so apices has that meaning; for example, in Sidon., Epist. iv. 5. 1, apicum meorum gerulus, Codex Theod. xvi. 2. 7, lectores divinatorum apicum, and in many other instances, especially in the ecclesiastical writers.

I believe that these three meanings (a mark of quantity; stroke, form, letter; epistle) cover all the examples cited in the T. L. L., and the meanings "stroke" and "form" make some difficult passages perfectly clear. The meaning "summa pars litterarum (litterae)", which is given in several glosses, and which the T. L. L. seems to refer in its literal sense to one or more passages, I believe to refer to the mark of quantity. In Auson., Epit. Heroum, xxxii, we read

Una quidem geminis fulget set dissita punctis
 Littera, praenomen sic (· L ·) nota sola facit.
 Post · M · incisum est, puto sic (M) non tota videtur;
 Dissiluit saxi fragmine laesus apex.

The L. C. L. translation (i. p. 159) renders the last line thus: "for the broken top is flaked away where the stone is cracked." But the passage from Ausonius which is quoted above suggests the meaning "letter" for apex, which is used to avoid the repetition of littera, or perhaps for metrical convenience. Dissiluit too is an odd word for "flaked off." I would suggest: "the letter is split apart by a crack in the stone," which would be represented graphically by M.

The following rather difficult passages become clear, if we give apex the meaning "stroke" or "form" ("strokes"). In Cassiod., Gramm vii. 148. 6, K., digamma nominatur quia duos apices ex gamma littera habere videatur, the meaning is that the digamma has two horizontal strokes in place of the single one of gamma. The T. L. L. apparently puts this example under

"summa pars litterarum," but the second stroke of the digamma could hardly be called a "top," even if the upper stroke could be designated by such a term. So too in Ter. Maur. 896, vi. p. 351, K., vel priores G Latini nondum ab apice finxerant, apice surely does not mean the top of the letter. It probably means the stroke which differentiated G from C, or with less unusual syntax ab apice might mean "as regards its form"; cf. Suet. Tib. lxxviii. 1, latus ab umeris et pectore. Gellius has two passages in which apices means the "strokes" or "form" of letters. In xvii. 9. 12, describing the effect of the Spartan σκυτάλη, he says: resolutio autem lori litteras truncas atque mutilas reddebat membraque earum et apices in partes diversissimas spargebat. In the light of Gellius' habit of using pairs of synonymous, or nearly synonymous, words, it seems most natural to translate membra earum et apices by "the parts of the letters and the strokes of which they were formed." In xiii. 31. 10, where an ignorant grammarian pretended to have worn out his eyes in nightly studies, he says: vix ipsos litterarum apices potui comprehendere, which seems to mean: "I could hardly make out the forms of the letters (die Züge, Weiss)."

Turning now to the Res Gestae, the two versions of which will be designated by Anc. and Ant., we find in Ant. 31 words and parts of words not preserved in Anc., in which long vowels are designated by the apex or by I longa.¹ As one of the words has two apices which are not found in Anc., the total number of marks under this head is 32.² There are two errors. Viciens is probably a mere slip for víciens, which occurs in vi. 22; in Anc. viciens occurs twice without a mark. Devíctas is less easily

¹ For convenience the cases of long i are printed with the apex (í), but this invariably represents an I longa. I am indebted to Dr. Robinson for numerous notes based upon his first-hand knowledge of both Ant. and Anc.

² The examples are: Heading², Románum; i. 1, á, vindicáví (á found also in Anc.), mé; ii. 4, trís, víciens, terrá, immortalibus, diés, tribúnciae; ii. 5, á, penuriá, perpaucós; iii. 7, ref, Arvális; iii. 9, vóta; iii. 10, nómen; iv. 12, vírís, Hispániá (final á found also in Anc.), ífs; iv. 13, victoriís; v. 16, praedís, numeráto; vi. 20, auctoritáte; vii. 26, nóñ; viii. 30, devíctas; ix. 32, liberórum; ix. 34, caussá, auctoritáte, céteri; ix. 35, cúria.

explained; victor occurs twice in Anc. without a mark, and victoriis in both Anc. and Ant. with no mark on the i.

Excluding three doubtful cases, there are 20 words and parts of words, with 21 marks, occurring in both Anc. and Ant., in which the mark of quantity is found only in Ant.³ There is one error, omniúm; the word stands between templis and civitátium. The new fragment thus supplies in all 53 new marks.

There are 76 words and parts of words, with 78 marks, in which there is agreement between Anc. and Ant.⁴ The mark on ín is probably an error, although finés follows; a marked vowel before nf is rare, though fairly common before ns. The mark is perhaps intentional, since it occurs in both Anc. and Ant., which is not true of the errors already noted, and to be noted below.

³ The examples are: ii. 5, curátiónem; iii. 8, fécf (é is doubtful in Anc. and is not counted); v. 15, mília three times; v. 16, próvinciális (é also in Anc.), coloniás; v. 17, eós; vi. 19, dívf (first f also in Anc.), Capitólio; vi. 20, perfécf (é also in Anc.); vi. 21, nómine, consacráví (á also in Anc.; Robinson now reads consacráví), mília; vi. 22, víciens, virórum, vii. 24, omniúm; viii. 27, máluf (á is doubtful in Anc., and is not given by some of the editors), ix. 32, suórum; Summary, 4, mótu.

⁴ The examples are: i. 1, vindicáví (f only in Ant.); i. 3, tóto; ii. 4, triumpháví (á is not given by the editors of Anc., but it probably should be), imperátor, deposuf, regés; iii. 7, sacris (f not given by editors of Anc., but seems to be indicated on the stone); iii. 8, patri-ciórum, égf (é not preserved in Ant.), quó, Romanórum; iii. 9, vivó, múnicipatim, úniversi, pulvínária (f doubtful in Anc. and not counted); iv. 11, senátus; iv. 12, Hispániá (first á not preserved in Anc.), áram; iv. 14, consiliís; iv. 15, congiárium, colonís, sexagenós, plebef; v. 16, agrís, solví, múnicipís (-nicipis not preserved in Ant.), agrís, próvinciális (á probably only in Ant.), deduxérunt, aetátis, quós, stipendís; vi. 17, pecunía, meá, iuví, quí; vi. 19, ef, dívf (final f only in Ant.), appellári, nómine, Feretrí, summá, sacrá, viá; vi. 20, rívos, vetustáte, á, perfécf (f only in Ant.), ampliáto, nón, senátus; vi. 21, Mártis, manibiís, consacráví (f only in Ant.), coronárf (both marks); vi. 22, dedí, nómine; vii. 24, eá, honórem; vii. 25, pacáví, á, sacerdotés; vii. 26, Hadriánó (a not preserved in Ant.), flúminis; viii. 26, ín; viii. 27, máluf (f is found only in Ant.; á is somewhat doubtful in Anc. and is not given by some of the editors), desciscntem, Gáium (the editors of Anc. do not give á, but it seems to be indicated in Mommsen's facsimile), recipéráví (both á and f; Robinson now reads recipéráví); viii. 29, aliós; ix. 32, suós; ix. 33, accéperunt, Médf (é in both; f only in Anc.); ix. 34, meó, fíxa; Summary, 4, cúriam.

Over against this list may be set one of 9 words preserved in both Anc. and Ant. which have marks only in Anc.⁵ There are besides 8 instances in which a mark is preserved in Anc., where in Ant. the part of the stone which would have contained the mark is broken away or very badly worn,⁶ and there are 4 words in which the marking in one or the other version is uncertain.⁷ If to the certain cases in which the mark is found in Anc. but not in Ant. we add the undoubted instances in which the reverse is true, we have 30 marks in which the two versions disagree, and 78 in which they agree. This seems, on the whole, to indicate a fair degree of correspondence with the original inscription in Rome on the part of the two versions, but at the same time it is evident that a certain percentage of uncertainty must be taken into account. It may be added that all the editions of the *Res Gestae* show some variation in their markings, and apparently some errors or oversights. It is highly probable that the stone-cutters of Anc. and Ant. made oversights, and that the original document at Rome had more marks than either copy. For the same reason it is difficult to conjecture whether the same copy was used in Anc. and in Ant. At the same time it is true that the conclusions which I reached in my paper are not affected by the new material that has come to light.

As to the use of the apex, the rule given by Quintilian and other Roman writers is seldom exemplified in the inscriptions, because Latin words which are alike in spelling, but differ in the quantity of one or more vowels, are relatively rare; but á in the abl. of the first declension, and ís in plural cases are fairly frequent, as will appear from our brief lists, to which many

⁵ As given in Anc. these are: i. 3, remísi; vi. 20, reféci; vi. 21, féci, appellátus; vii. 23, pedés; viii. 27, rége, régió (-io is not preserved in Ant.); ix. 33, Médi (i only in Anc.); Summary, 4, quórum.

⁶ v. 16, postea; vi. 19, Mátris; vi. 20, plúribus, Márcia; vii. 24, meó; vii. 26, provinciás, regiónē; ix. 34, civica, an error, which in all probability would not have been made in Ant.

⁷ ii. 4, cónsulto, Ant. (apparently no mark in Anc., but the stone is somewhat worn); v. 15, vigintí, Ant. (the í is not clear in Anc.); vi. 19, Iunónis, Ant. (The editors of Anc. give Iúnonis, but the marks are not clear, and Iúnónis or Iunónis are possibilities); viii. 30, imperio, Ant. (the editors of Anc. give í, but Robinson questions the marking. In Ant. he now reads imperio).

instances might be added. That there were other reasons for using the marks is obvious, and for some of these I must refer to my earlier paper. My confidence in some of the categories was increased by Professor Pease's paper in the *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, vol. xxi, which I had unfortunately overlooked when I published my paper. In his manuscript (see p. 52) he finds the apex (or "accent," as he calls it) "over exclamatory o." This does not occur in the *Res Gestae*, and is not common in inscriptions. I have noted one example in C. I. L. VI. 5075 (8173). Marks are, however, rather frequent over monosyllables, and in particular over the preposition *a*. He found marks also "very frequently in compound words, to show that the prefix is not a complete word and carry the reader forward to what follows." In inscriptions we find this sometimes in compounds, such as *undéviginti* and *quinquáginta*, and more often in derivatives such as *nómen*, *testámentum*, *aerárium*, and the like. His third category is "to emphasize a long vowel or accented syllable even where there appears little danger of confusion." So far as the inscriptions are concerned, this would have to be emended by the omission of "or accented syllable," since the marks in inscriptions, except for very few errors and some special uses of the *I longa*, are used only to designate long vowels; also by the substitution of "word" for "long vowel," as in personal names, official titles, and the like. Finally, he notes the mark "on a few unaccented syllables, such as *tantó*, *quantó* and *pauló*." In inscriptions the mark appears quite as frequently over unaccented as over accented syllables, and is quite common over a final *o*. It is obvious that the use of such marks in manuscripts and in inscriptions differs, and a comparison of the two would be interesting, as well as of different manuscripts and inscriptions with one another. I hope to complete a collection of the inscriptional material within a reasonable time.

As the result of further study and larger collections of material I am inclined to lay more stress than before on the use of the marks as a guide to the correct pronunciation of words. This would account for the fairly frequent marking of vowels which do not receive the accent, but of which the length is important for proper pronunciation, such as *tribúniciae*, *auc-*

tóritate, cónsulto, curátionem, úniversi, etc. It would also account to some extent for the inconsistency in the use of the marks, due to varying opinions as to the importance of the length of particular vowels or the likelihood of their mispronunciation. This, of course, applies only to the inscriptions of the educated, in which such marks are most common; with the uneducated they were doubtless conventional or imitative, and used more or less at random; and there were also other reasons for the marks, for which I must refer to my earlier paper. Finally, it is probable that Quintilian and the grammarians had in mind the use in manuscripts, rather than in inscriptions.⁸

JOHN C. ROLFE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

⁸ [The publication of the Journal was too far advanced to permit of the revision of the present article in the light of the new material afforded by Ramsay and von Premerstein's recent edition of the Monumentum Antiochenum, Klio, 19. Beiheft, Leipzig, 1927.—Ed.]

QUID HOC HOMINE FACIAS?¹

This phrase is typical of a considerable group of sentences in which the ablative case appears in connection with the verbs *facio*, *fio*, and *sum*. Other examples follow:

Terence, *Phor.* 137: *Quid te futurumst?*

Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiv. 4. 3: *Quid Tulliola mea fiet?*

It seems to be taken for granted that the ablative is of the same character in all the sentences of this group; and there are at least three views as to the relation expressed, namely (1) Source, (2) Instrument, and (3) Association.

Bennett touches on the history of the discussion, noting that Delbrück first declared for Source, later shifting to Instrument.² In another place, speaking of examples of the kind under discussion found in early Latin, Bennett adds:

“The foregoing are taken by Ebrard, p. 588, as true ablatives, but Delbrück, *Grundriss* iii. p. 209, 248, seems to me right in referring them to an instrumental origin; he compares the use of Sanskrit *kar-*, ‘make,’ with the instrumental.”³

This instrumental interpretation is generally accepted in the standard textbooks. Lane⁴ still holds to the source idea, bringing his examples under the caption ‘Source, Stuff, or Material’; Harkness⁵ stands for the association relation.

In order to judge more clearly of this matter, it may be well to examine in its context one of the cases above cited:

Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiv. 4. 3: *Si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc seito: Si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos*

¹ Cicero, in *Verr.* ii. 2. 40.

² *Latin Language*, § 341. 4.

³ *Syntax of Early Latin*, II, 335.

⁴ *Latin Grammar*, § 1315.

⁵ *Complete Latin Grammar*, § 474. 3.

videte; mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo.

Writing from Brundisium, Cicero is trying to make some plan for the safety and welfare of various members of his family. At thought of his daughter, he cries: "But what of my dear Tullia?"

Applying to this phrase the three lines of interpretation above listed, the result is as follows:

(1) What will develop from my dear Tullia? (Source, Stuff, Material)

(2) What will come to pass through the means of my dear Tullia? (Instrument)

(3) Along with my dear Tullia what (else) will come to pass? (Association)

Unconvincing as all of these interpretations are, it is interesting to note that the most impossible of the three is the one most in vogue, namely Instrumentality.

With views so diverse and so eminently unsatisfactory, it must be evident that something is radically wrong in the methods used in the attempt to explain this idiom.

So far as school grammars are concerned, we may have to do, in part, with subjective classification of an offhand and arbitrary variety. But the trouble certainly is due not less to the practice of dealing with a little eddy in the stream of Roman linguistic consciousness from the point of view of comparative syntax, and in terms of 'origins.' To this aspect of the matter further reference is made below.

In approaching the problem here in hand, the question to be answered is: Given an intelligent Roman, competent to analyze his own linguistic consciousness, what would he reply, if asked to describe his reaction to the ablative in phrases such as *quid me fiet?* Lacking direct testimony of this sort, it remains to look carefully for clues in connection with examples of the use found in the literature of the language; e. g.

Martial, Ep. xii, 23:

Dentibus atque comis, nec te pudet, uteris emptis.

Quid facies *oculo*, Laelia? Non emitur.

This epigram is written at the expense of some unfortunate person who lacks an eye, and who covers up other defects by the use of false teeth and hair. It is conceivable that some would see a dative in *oculo* of the second line; but unquestionably the great majority of readers, ancient and modern, would count it an ablative.

What sort of ablative? Since the eye is lacking at the start, it cannot be a question of source, instrument, or accompaniment. But interpretation as an ablative of specification fits perfectly: "Without shame you make use of false hair and teeth. What will you do *with reference to* an eye, Laelia? That cannot be bought."

As soon as this point of view is suggested, it is seen at once that it fits equally well with examples in which the ablative refers to something actually in hand; e. g.

Livy, xxvii. 16. 8: Qui (Fabius), interroganti scriba
quid fieri *signis* (deorum) vellet, . . . deos iratos
Tarentinis relinqui iussit.

This passage has to do with handling the problem of the booty that fell into the hands of the Romans when Tarentum was taken. In the course of this business, doubt arises as to a detail, and "when the clerk asked what he wanted done *with respect to* the statues of the gods, Fabius ordered that the angry divinities be left to the Tarentines."

It also accords perfectly with this line of interpretation that the ablative in such phrases is not infrequently accompanied by the preposition *de*; e. g.

Terence, Adel. 996: *de fratre* quid fiet?

Though Lane regards the ablative without the preposition as belonging to the category 'Source, Stuff, or Material,' it is distinctly interesting that in the selfsame paragraph he calls atten-

tion to the occasional insertion of *de*, and renders the phrase just quoted: "as to my brother, what will come to pass?"⁶

In view of these facts, it is suggested that any further study of phrases of the *quid hoc homine facias?* type should always keep in sight the possibility of a solution in terms of specification.

Materials are not at hand, and it is not the purpose of this paper to sift to the bottom the problem of the particular use of the ablative here in question. Of far larger importance is the matter of method of attack in the field of case and modal syntax; and it is desired especially to voice a protest against the careless appeal to comparative syntax to settle questions that should be approached in another way.⁷

For example, it is customary to handle a problem like that of the ablative in the phrase *quid hoc homine facias?* by seeking out some construction with a cognate or related verb in another Indo-European language, postulating a common 'origin' for the two, and then interpreting the Latin construction in the light of its 'origin.'

So, as above noted, in this particular connection Bennett finds in Sanskrit a parallel in the verb *kar-* ('to make') construed with the instrumental case. This is assumed to establish an instrumental origin, and the Latin ablative is classified accordingly. The result of such procedure is shown at the beginning of this paper, namely a diversity of guesses, no one of them convincing in the light of a simple practical test.

Possibly a distinction should be made at this point. Under the influence of the prestige of the comparative method, there may be at times an almost unconscious tendency to first strike out a general scheme, and then to fit the Latin uses in where 'they ought to go,' thus putting the whole matter on the footing of an academic exercise in logical arrangement. Time was when such procedure was quite general; and, as certain works on syntax are examined, it seems to the writer that the twentieth

⁶ So Kühner, who holds for the instrumental interpretation of the unaccompanied ablative; *Ausf. Gramm.* II², 321, Anm. 8.

⁷ Cf. also what is said in *The Latin Conditional Sentence*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, VIII, 1 ff.

century has not wholly escaped from the thrall of even these naive and utterly misleading notions.⁸

If the issue is squarely met, there can be no difference of opinion as to the one proper immediate aim of an investigator in the field of syntax. If possible, he must determine the point of view of *the person who wrote or spoke the sentences* under examination. Only confusion and error can result from trying to clamber up some other way.

We must ask, therefore, the practical question: In trying to determine the linguistic consciousness of the Romans behind an odd turn of phrase like *quid hoc homine facias?* what help may be expected from comparative treatment?

Turning to Delbrück, as cited by Bennett, a sentence is found in which *kar* ('machen') is construed with the instrumental, and rendered as follows: "denn was könnte er mit einem Hause machen, welches er von innen nicht erkennen könnte?" Delbrück proceeds: "An diese Ausdrucksweise mit *kar* schliesst sich *arthō bhavati* 'es ist ein Geschäft mit etwas, *opus est aliqua re.*' And finally: "Hierher scheint mir auch der abl. bei lat. *facio* zu gehören, z. B. *nescit quid faciat auro* bei Plautus."

No attempt is made to determine the Roman point of view, no account is taken of the fact that the ablative in this idiom occurs with *fio* ('become') and *sum*, as well as with *facio*; a single example is selected into which the force of a Sanskrit instrumental might conceivably be read, and there the matter ends. Surely there is no light in this direction.

Again, for the sake of argument, let us suppose that Indo-European had one meaning apiece exactly apportioned to its various case-forms, and that the Sanskrit construction illustrated in the sentence cited by Delbrück faithfully represents some Indo-European turn of phrase with the instrumental. These are large assumptions; but, granting them, what chance

⁸ The fallibility of theories as to 'origins' is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Latin ablative absolute is variously ascribed to an instrumental, ablative, or locative origin—thus running the whole gamut of possibility. In determining the meaning of some Latin idiom, it is a frail chain of argument that depends upon so weak a link as a postulated Indo-European origin.

is there that the force of this 'original use' would persist in the Latin ablative, and dominate the linguistic consciousness of the Romans centuries later?

At the outset there is infelicity in that *facio* and *kar* are not cognate words. Moreover, when Latin literature begins, whatever instrumental forms appear are involved in a loose medley called the Latin ablative, a condition very unfavorable for some instrumental idiom to push its way through with unimpaired linguistic feeling.

Still again, the lapse of time between postulated Indo-European origin and emergence in Latin literature must be many hundreds of years; and the life of any particular syntactical usage cannot by any means be compared to the movement of a smooth-flowing stream. It has to be picked up anew by each succeeding generation, and its meaning is inferred in each case from the context in which it is heard or read.

Even more serious, perhaps, is the fact that unlettered individuals acquire phrases without clear consciousness of grammatical relation, using them as units, and without analysis. To take an illustration very germane to this paper, the phrase "What has become of him?" is caught up by the unlearned as "What has come on him?"

How precarious the transmission of a syntactical impulse was we may see time and again in the historical period, when there were written records and a norm of usage which favored orthodoxy; e. g. the changing case-use with verbs of the *utor*, *fruor*, cycle, and the inroads of the subjunctive into the *cum*-construction.

If we may be sure of anything in this connection, it is certain that, at the time Latin literature began, had a writer been asked to tell his feeling for the ablative in the phrase *quid hoc homine facias?* he would have approached the problem without the slightest prejudice arising from possible instrumental origin or Sanskrit parallel. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he and a friend might have a difference of opinion about the matter.

It seems, therefore, that little is to be hoped from the comparative method in connection with this particular problem. The question is: How did the Roman of the historical period

react to the ablative? This question can be answered only by careful examination of all the cases, with a view to discovering some which, by their content or context, crystalize the ablative into definiteness.

In what has been said thus far there has been no desire, of course, to disparage the part which comparative treatment may properly play in the study of syntax. Trouble has arisen because of the overemphasis upon speculative 'origins.' Thus, in the specific problem touched on in this paper, the quest for origin has operated to distract attention from the real evidence in the case.

Furthermore, too little recognition has been given the fact that even closely analogical developments in cognate languages do not necessarily indicate a common prehistoric starting-point for a given group of uses.

Thus, there certainly is a marked similarity in the development of iterative constructions in Latin and in Greek. However, all the evidence goes to show that the employment of the subjunctive in iterative clauses in Latin began with cases in which the indefinite second singular is subject.⁹

If this be so, the Latin construction undoubtedly developed on Italian soil, and it cannot properly be discussed on the basis of a common Indo-European 'origin.' Farther down the line, of course, the two streams touched, and the Greek construction undoubtedly influenced the later history of the iterative subjunctive in Latin; but that is another matter.

Again, in both Latin and Greek is seen an analogous tense-shift that provided the present contrary to fact construction with a new vehicle of expression. But in Homer one may single out but a few cases in which the imperfect indicative shows signs of taking over the new meaning; indeed some scholars are loath to recognize the process as beginning thus early.

Hence there can be no question of a common 'origin' for the Greek and Latin constructions,—to say nothing of the fact that it is the indicative that is affected in Greek and the subjunctive in Latin. There may be a nice problem in comparative psychology, if you will, in the fact that among the Greeks and

⁹ See again *The Latin Conditional Sentence*, pp. 82 ff.

Romans (and elsewhere) a tendency developed on the part of a past tense to take over the present contrary to fact construction; but that, too, is another matter.¹⁰

What is needed in the study of Latin syntax at the present time is what is needed in every science, namely, the microscopic examination of the concrete facts, without the slightest prejudice from unproved theories. Because this practice has been neglected in the past, whole tracts in the field of Latin syntax still remain almost virgin ground.

H. C. NUTTING.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 122 ff.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ROME.

The following apparently unpublished inscriptions have been generously presented to the American Academy in Rome by the widow of Dr. George N. Olcott, a former Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome and a distinguished student of Latin epigraphy. At the time of Dr. Olcott's lamented death in 1913 these stones formed part of the collection of antiquities which he had formed at his Roman villa; they presumably came from Rome itself or the immediate vicinity. Almost every one of them exhibits some feature of special interest.

1.

The upper part of a slab of white marble, present height m. 0.355; width m. 0.260; thickness m. 0.17. Well-cut uncial Greek letters, in height increasing from m. 0.010 in the first line to m. 0.012-0.014 in the last line, the invocation, where they are broader and heavier. A point is used at the ends of most of the metrical verses.

Ο ΤΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΜΕΛΩΔΟΣ ΕΝΤΕΧΝΟΣ
ΛΥΡΗΣ · ΟΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΕΗΣΤΟ
ΤΕ ΝΥΝΕΙΝΕΚΥΣΚΕΙCAITAPH · ΑΛΛΑ
ΛΟCΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙCCKIA ΕΝΤΗΔΕΜΝΗ
ΜΗ ΗΝΔΕΔΩΚΑΝΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΟΙ · ΠΑΥΛΟΣ
ΠΡΟΚΛΑ ΤΕ ΟΙCΘΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝΤΕ
ΚΝΑCΥΝΔΙΑΦΥΛΑΞΑΙΤΕΕΥΒΙ
ΟΥΝΤΑCΕΙCΤΕΛΟΣ
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΕΥΨΥΧΙ

I transcribe, following the metrical verses:

Ὁ τῆς σοφίης μελωδὸς ἐντεχνος λύρης,
ὁ τοῦνομα Ἀμμώνιε, ἥς ποτε,
νῦν εἰ νέκυσ, κείσαι ταφῇ,
ἄλλalos ἀνθρώποις σκιά,
ἐν τῇδε μνήμῃ ἣν δέδωκαν φίλτατοι
Παῦλος Πρόκλα τε, οἷς θεοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τέκνα
συνδιαφυλάξατε εὖ βιοῦντας εἰς τέλος.
Ἀμμώνι' εὐψύχι.

The Iambic trimeters and dimeters, not always impeccable; the poetic forms (σοφίης, λύρης, ῆς) and vocabulary (ἄλαλος), and the thought expressed, have many parallels among the metrical epitaphs of the early empire. For the contrast between the music of the man when alive and his silence in the tomb, compare Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 551:

Τὴν κυανῶπιν Μοῦσαν, ἀηδόνα τὴν μελίγηρυν
λειτὸς ὁδ' ἐξαπίνης τύμβος ἄναυδον ἔχει.

For μνήμη and its equivalent μῆμα as signifying the monument with its epitaph, compare Kaibel, 450:

Μνήμα με ὁρᾷς περικαλλές, ἀοίδιμον αἰὲν ὀδίταις,
843: ἀριδηλον μνήμα θέσαν,
and 896: τόδε σῆμα ποιήσας ἀρετῆς μνήμην ἀνέγiras
αὐτῷ καὶ γενετῆρι καὶ υἱ[έ]σι κυδαλίμοισιν.

Paulus and Proc(u)la, a married couple with children of their own, erect a monument to their very dear friend or relative, Ammonios, a skilled lyrist.

2.

A slab of white marble, height m. 0.295, w. 0.230, th. 0.020; letters 0.025 high.

D M
FL·VICTOR·MIL·CHO
VIII·PRE·BETRI
CVM·MARCELLINA
MATRE·VICTORI
FIL·DVLCISSIMO
FE·VIX·AN·I·ME·VIII
DIE XXVII

*D(is) M(anibus) Fl(avius) Victor mil(es) Cho(rtis) (sic!)
viii. Pre(toriae) (sic!) Betri (= Bedri(acum)) cum Marcellina
matre Victori fil(io) dulcissimo fe(cit). Vix(it) an(no) i.
me(nsibus) viiii. die(bus) xxvii.*

3.

A tablet of white marble, with holes for nails at the two right-hand corners; height m. 0.12, w. 0.22, th. 0.015. The lapicide's guide-lines are partially visible.

CLIENTI · AVG · SER
MVL · F · VOLVMNIA
SYMPOSIA · CON

Clienti Aug(usti?-ustae?) ser(vo) mul(ioni?) f(ecit) Volumnia Symposia con(iugi).

For the name *Symposia*, cf. the *Symposium* of *C. I. L.* XI. 4759, where the termination is perhaps not correctly transmitted.

4.

The preceding inscription, No. 3, was cut on a tablet prepared for the purpose from a larger one, which had already served, on its opposite side, for an inscription in very artistic monumental characters; these are m. 0.042 high in the first of the two lines preserved and 0.03 in the second; these lines are upside-down with reference to the other inscription, and run as follows:

AVGE (followed by a flourish as punctuation)
N · XXXV

This is the end of a tomb-inscription; we may read—*Auge* and —*vixit an] n. xxxv.*

5.

A tablet of cream-colored marble, height m. 0.065-0.068; w. 0.175; th. 0.025; letters m. 0.025 high in line 1, and 0.016 in line 2; the small O which was added by way of correction above the I of line 2 is 0.003 high.

L · TREBONIVS · C · L
ANTICHVS · C^OCVS

This inscription and the three following ones furnish additions to our lists of the civilian inhabitants of Rome engaged in various occupations.

6.

A tablet of fine-crystalled white marble, height m. 0.16; w. 0.213; th. 0.045; letters 0.012 high.

MOSCHIDIS
MINISTRAE

7.

The upper part of a slab of close-crystalled white marble with dark streaks, height m. 0.177; w. 0.212; th. 0.032. There is preserved, at the bottom of the slab, part of a circular perforation about m. 0.10 in diameter.

PHRYNE · TERTVLLAE · QUASILLARIA
AFRICANA
HIC · QUIESCIT · VIXIT · AN · XVII

The name Phryne has associations with the *demi-monde*; but in the case of this seventeen-year-old African spinning-girl, the handmaid of Tertulla, as originally in the case of the famous courtesan, the mistress of Praxiteles, it may have been applied as a sort of nickname ("toad"), with reference to a peculiarity of complexion.

8.

A slab of white marble, height m. 0.19; w. 0.16; th. 0.06; irregularly broken to the right, so that it is possible that the numeral was originally marked XVIII.

ASTICVS ·
COMOEDVS ·
· LICINIAES ·
VIXIT · ANNOS · XVIII

"Greek" genitives such as *Liciniae* are discussed in Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 382, and Sommer, *Handbuch*, 2-3. Aufl., pp. 326 f.

9.

A slab of white marble, height m. 0.145; w. 0.275; th. 0.030; letters normally 0.025 high. The contents suggest that it came from the columbarium of some *collegium funeraticium*.

SEX · LARDIVS
EROS · ASIATICVS
MAG · Q · TRIBVN

Line 1, perhaps an error for *Lartidius*; the name *Sex. Lartidius* does occur, though denoting other persons, *C. I. L. III.* suppl. 7118, and Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 2265.

Line 3 is to be expanded *mag(ister) q(uaestor) tribun(us)*; for these offices in a *collegium*, compare *C. I. L. VI.* 10318, and Mommsen's note on *C. I. L. VI.* 4012.

10.

The left-hand portion, almost exactly a half, of a slab of coarse-crystalled creamy marble with darker streaks; height m. 0.30; w. preserved, 0.18; th. 0.020-0.022; letters 0.020-0.022 high. Guide-lines are preserved in the upper left-hand part.

To the right of the D, in the original centre of the first line, was a crude representation in relief, in a depressed rectangle, of the three *Charites*, two of the figures being now preserved; obviously a canting reference to the name of the deceased, and to be compared with the representation of a *diadumenos* on the tomb altar of T. Octavius Diadumenus in the Vestibolo Rotondo of the Belvedere of the Vatican (*C. I. L. VI.* 10035; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vat. Mus.*, II. 7 a). (G. Gatti's discussion, in *Bull. Comunale*, 1887, pp. 114-121, of the more general class of punning reliefs of which these two represent a very special subdivision, might now be considerably expanded; but this would exceed the limits of the present publication.)

D
CHAR
LIAE DVLC
QVE VIX
XII · MEN (the second I has been erased.)
XIII MA
MATER
PRETERE
MINETR
FE

D(is) [M(anibus)
Char[idi fi-
liae dulc[issimae
que vix[it annis
xii. men[(sibus) tot d(iebus)
xiii. Ma[ecia? rcia? (e. g.)
mater [.
pretere[untib(us) no-(?)
mine tr[ium fil.?
fe[cit.

11.

A slab of fine-grained white marble, height m. 0.14; w. 0.22; th. 0.018; letters 0.015-0.020 high. The letters show cursive influence, especially in the A, F and M. There is an ivy-leaf border above, and a tendril border below.

MAGIA · L · Ɔ · L · FAUSTILLA
 VIXIT · ANNOS · XX · IVSTA
 ET · KARA · CONIVGI · L · FABIO
 DONATO · HOC · CONTVLIT · OSSV
 A · COLEND · DIGNA · PRO · MERITIS
 EIVS

The phrase *iusta* (i. e. gentle) *et kara* seems to be otherwise unattested but rings true to human affection. For other instances of the phonetic variation, *hoc* for *huc*, see Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, III, indices, p. 865. For the frequent *ossua*, see Sommer, *Handbuch*, 2-3. Aufl., p. 405. *Digna* appears to be a lapicide's error for *digne*.

12.

A tablet of white marble, height m. 0.14; w. 0.21; th. 0.025; letters 0.015 high. The inscription is in a sunken rectangle surrounded by a fascia and cymatium. There seem to have been *ansae*, now broken off, at each end.

D M
RVBRIE · FORTV
NATE · MATR
M · R · C · D · B · M

Line 3, *matr(i)*.

The sense of the last line may be given by resolving *m(emo)-r(ia) c(on)d(itiva) b(ene) m(erenti)*.

13.

A slab of white marble, height m. 0.22; w. 0.322-0.327; th. 0.018-0.020.

On one side there is an inscription the letters of which are still in large part filled with lime; therefore it is probably the original inscription, and this appears confirmed by the character of the names; the guide-lines are partly visible; the letters are m. 0.018-0.020 in height.

D · M
M · VLPIVS IVLIA
NVS · FECIT · FILIO
SVO · VLPIO POR
TESI

The name *Porte(n)sis* suggests that this stone came from Portus and was first used not earlier than the principate of Claudius; the name *Ulpus* suggests Trajanic date or later.

14.

On the other side of the slab there is an inscription in a field surrounded by incised lines; the guide-lines are preserved; the letters are m. 0.020 high. This inscription is upside-down with reference to No. 13.

D · M
NENE · ANTIOCHO ·
CONIVGI · B · M · FEC ·
VIX · ANN · LXV ·

The name *Nene* seems otherwise unattested.

15.

The lower part of the revetment of a niche, of red and black streaked limestone; there are preserved the lower portions of the sides of the semicircular opening, and below it the rectangular field for the inscription. Greatest height preserved, m. 0.175; height of portion below the opening, 0.105; width, 0.335; thickness 0.035-0.040; normal height of letters, 0.010.

PLACVIT · PATRONO · SVO · SINE · OFFENSA
VLLA · QUOAD · VIXIT · NON · RELIQUIT · QVI · DE
SE · MALE · EXISTIMARET · TVM · CVM · FLORERE ·
DEBVIT
FATVM · OBIIT · SVVM · CARA · QVIBVS · VOLVIT ·
FVIT · VALE · ET · TV

The first part of the inscription, with the name of the deceased woman, is unfortunately lost. What remains is a faultily and incompletely metrical composition, including

- (1) an incomplete *senarius*:

Placuit patrono suo sine offensa . . . ,

where the U of *suo* is treated as consonantal;

- (2) a complete *senarius*:

Quoad vixit non reliquit qui de se male,

where *quoad* is a monosyllable and the second foot has two longs, also the fourth foot;

- (3) another complete *senarius*:

Tum cum florere debuit fatum obiit suum;

where the second foot has two longs, also the fourth foot;

- (4) and apparently the beginning of a hexameter (unless the much-resolved beginning of another *senarius*):

Cara quibus voluit

For the last expression, there is a parallel cited by Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 64, from Cumanudes, *Tit. Att. Sepulcr.* 3490: ἡνδανεὶ οἷς χρεῖν. But I have not access to the latter work, and therefore have been unable to track the inscription further.

16.

The lower right-hand corner of a travertine slab with a depressed rectangular field; height preserved, m. 0.18; width preserved, 0.21; thickness, 0.04; letters 0.022 high.

?

NIAIANVA
CON · B · M · F

There is a trace of the lower curve of a letter on a line above.

There may now be added an inscribed cippus of travertine, which for many years had served as a step in the garden of the Villa Aurelia, but in November 1926 was removed to the Academy's museum; its earlier history is unknown. It is a shaft, rectangular in section, with total height m. 1.32, width of sides from *ca.* m. 0.21 to *ca.* m. 0.25, the thickness between face A and face C diminishing toward the bottom; the surface is tooled to *ca.* m. 0.20 of the bottom, below which point it is left rough and irregular. The two long inscriptions are on opposite sides, A and C, and are replicas except for the division of lines and the ending of line 3; the short inscription preserved is on the side, B, to the spectator's right of A and left of C; the fourth side, D, doubtless originally bore a second short inscription, giving the name of the second *horti* which are mentioned in the long inscriptions; but it has lost its ancient surface. The letters on faces A and C measure *ca.* m. 0.015 to m. 0.020 in height; those on face B measure *ca.* m. 0.020 to 0.022 in height. The surface of the stone is uneven, the letters are somewhat irregularly cut with slight depth, and in consequence it has proved impracticable to use either squeezes or rubbings for reading difficult letters; the readings here given are based on repeated study in varying degrees of light from different angles.

Face B

HORTI
VOLVSIANI

Face A

TERMINVS
POSI[t]VSEX
CONVENTIO[ne]
FEROCIS
LICINIANI
ETAITHALIS
AVGL[i]BINTER
HORTOS
MARSIANOS
QVOSPOSIDET
AITHALISAV[gl]IB
ETHORTO[s]VO[i]V
SIANOSQVOS
POSSIDETFEROX
LICINIANVS

Face C

TERMINVS
POSITVS
EXCONVENT
FEROCIS
LICINIANI
ETAITHALIS
AVGLIBINTER
HORTOS
MARSIANOSQV[os]
PO[s]SIDETAITHALIS
AVGLIBETHORTOS
VOLVSIANOS
QVOSPOSIDET
FEROX
LICINIANVS

Indistinct letters are marked with dots.

The text transcribed from the two copies on the stone, with the few abbreviations expanded, is:

Terminus positus ex conventio(ne) Ferocis Liciniani et Aithalis Aug(usti) lib(ertae) inter hortos Marsianos quos possidet Aithalis Aug(usti) lib(erta) et hortos Volusianos quos possidet Ferox Licinianus.

The words on one side, *Horti Volusiani*, would have been balanced on the other side by [*Horti Marsiani*].

This boundary stone between two gardens, or villas, in Rome belongs to a limited class of epigraphical documents, and no exact parallel for the form in which it is cast is known to me. A similar function was performed by the two cippi, *C. I. L. VI. 29771* (= Dessau, *I. L. S.* 5998), *Cippi hi finiunt hortos Calyclan. et Taurianos* (one copy *Tauriainos*).

The expression *termini positi* is found e. g. on the boundaries of the territory of Moorish tribes, *C. I. L. VIII. 8369* (= D.

5961); *C. I. L.* VIII. suppl. 21663 (= D. 5963). *Ter. vetus positus* occurs in D. 9382 (boundary between *castella* in Mauretania).

The phrase *ex con(com-)ventione* is found in *C. I. L.* III. suppl. 9832 (D. 5949); 15053 (D. 5953 b) both inscriptions defining Dalmatian districts; cf. *secundum [c]onventionem*, D. 9378 (Dalmatian districts); *secundum acta*, D. 9382 (*castella* in Mauretania).

(*Cn. Pompeius*) *Ferox Licinianus*, *consul suffectus* in a year undetermined (*C. I. L.* VI. 468; cf. V. 3349), is in all probability known from literary sources (cf. Von Rohden and Dessau, *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, III. no. 461); if he is to be identified with the *saevior illo Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro* of Juvenal IV. 109 f., one of Domitian's courtiers invited to the famous conclave on the great fish, and apparently the same person as the "*Licinus*" of Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* V. 7, our inscription, which was erected during his lifetime, is to be dated ca. 80-120 A. D.

The name of the party of the second part, which occurs four times on the stone, is certainly *Aithalis*, strange though this form is. AI for AE is abnormal at this period, for the cases collected by Dessau, *I. L. S.* III. p. 808, come from either the period of the Republic or that of Claudius or from Greek regions; but in none of the four instances on our stone has the second letter any clearly-defined horizontal stroke. *Aiθαλῖς*, *Aethalis*, though apparently not otherwise attested, is intelligible as derived from either *Aιθάλη* (*Ilva*) or *αἷθαλος* (= "ruddy").

The *horti Marsiani* apparently are not mentioned elsewhere.

The *horti Volusiani* I believe to be mentioned in *C. I. L.* 9973, (= D. 7573), . . . *vestiario de hor. Volusianis*, where the Edd. expand *hor(reis)*. It is conceivable but not demonstrable that they became known in later times after their owner *Ferox Licinianus*; cf. *Hist. Aug.* XXIII (Gallieni), xvii, 8, *cum iret ad hortos nominis sui* . . . ; see Hülsen's treatment of the scanty evidence for **horti Liciniani*, in Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, I. iii. 358 f.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

INSCRIPTIONS AT DINEIR, THE ANCIENT APAMEA

When I was directing in 1924 an expedition to Asia Minor for the University of Michigan, I copied on May 5 of that year several inscriptions at Dineir, the site of the ancient Apamea in Phrygia. It is situated near the sources of the Marsyas and the Maeander below the higher and older Celaenae, the scene of the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo, where Cyrus spent thirty days in the *Anabasis*.¹ I saw also an interesting fragment of a sarcophagus of the Sidamara type representing in high relief sculpture Heracles with lion's skin at his side standing in one of the rectangular compartments with dentilled background, another Heracles with lion's skin on his head in the next section, and then the first type of Heracles repeated. Evidently the two types alternated.

Of the ancient inscriptions two on large heavy slabs have been worn away by the water running over them. Of the five which I copied three are already published but with variations from my copies.

1. Built into the wall of a house. H. 0.94 m., W. 0.58 m., Th. 0.17 m. Published with omission of first line in *C. I. G.* 3962c and by Ramsay in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 472, no. 316.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΑΥΡΕΠΑΓΑΘΟCΩΦΕ
ΛΙΟΥΑΥΖΑΝΟΝΤΟC
ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΤΟΗΡΩΟΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΉΓΥ
ΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΙCΤΕ
ΚΝΟΙCΙCΟΕΤΕΡΟCΟΥ
ΤΕΘΗΕΙΔΕΤΙΕΠΙΤΗ
ΔΕΥCΕΙΘΗCΙCΤΟΤΑ
ΛΙΟΝ * Φ ♡

¹ Cf. Xen., *Anab.* 1, 2, 9. On the topography cf. Pauly-Wissowa, I, 2664-2665; Hogarth, *J. H. S.* IX, 1888, pp. 343 ff.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Αὐρ. Ἐπάγαθος Ὀφε-
 λίου Αὐξάνοντος
 ἐποίησα τὸ ἥρωον
 5 ἐαντῶ καὶ τῇ γυν-
 ναικί μου καὶ τοῖς τέ-
 κνοις · ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ
 τεθῇ · εἰ δέ τι(ς) ἐπιτη-
 δεύσει, θήσι ἰς τὸ τα-
 10 μῖον (δηνάρια) φ'.

The copy in the *C. I. G.* gives in l. 2 ΕΠΑΙΘΟC and throughout the wrong forms M, Y, Ξ. In l. 5 ἐμαντῶ is wrongly read. ἐαντῶ is on the stone and is frequent in Asia Minor inscriptions.² The ligature of TH is omitted before γυναικί. In l. 7 IC is omitted and εἰς wrongly restored. In l. 8 the *C. I. G.* has only ΤΕΘΗC . T and wrongly restores τεθῆσ[ε]τ[αι]. In l. 9 the *C. I. G.* wrongly reads ΛΕΥCΕΤΟΝΕΙΙ . . . ΤΟΝΤΑ, with a superfluous N before ΤΑ, which does not exist. In l. 8 it is unlikely that the stonecutter failed to cut the letters CΕΤΑΙ, as Ramsay says. Possibly τεθῇ is bad Phrygian Greek for the usual warning form. It occurs too frequently³ to be taken as a stonecutter's error. The iotacism seen in ἰς, θήσι (wrongly restored as θήσει in the *C. I. G.*), and in ταμίον for ταμείον (but not in ἐπιτηδεύσει) is frequent in Asia Minor. In l. 8 the C of TIC was omitted by confusion with C following.

2. Marble slab with sculptured relief of a seated figure with hands on knees as in the frequent modern Turkish attitude. The space left in the facsimile between the letters indicates the location of the sculpture. The stone is 0.99 m. high with a molding 0.22 m. high above and below. The greatest width is 0.65 m., at the inscription 0.575 m. The thickness is 0.46 m. at the bottom. The inscription was buried upside down and had to be dug up. Published in *B. C. H.* XVII, 1893, p. 319, no. 11, and in Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 473, no. 319.

² Cf. for example *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, p. 315, no. 44 (from Sinope).

³ Cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 472, no. 317; p. 535, no. 391; p. 537, no. 395; p. 538, no. 399 bis.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΤΕΥΤΗΣ
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑ ΤΟΞΥΚΟ
ΔΟΜΗ ΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ
ΒΩ ΜΟΝ
ΤΕΚΝΩ ΧΡΥΣΕΡΩ
ΤΙΑΥΘΡΩΜΝΗ
ΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ

[ὁ δεῖνα]
Αὐρηλίου Ζωσίμου
πραγματευτής,
ἐποίησα τὸ ἐξυκο-
δόμητον
καὶ τὸν
βωμὸν
τέκνῳ Χρυσέρω-
τι αὐώρῳ μνή-
μης χάριν

Bérard in the *B. C. H.* gives the wrong forms of alpha and omega and reads Αὐώρῳ as a proper name. It is rather a local Phrygian form or pronunciation of ἄώρῳ. Bérard is also wrong in reading Χάρην in the last line.

3. Marble slab built into the pavement near the Maeander, 0.80 m. high, 0.68 m. wide, 0.18 m. thick. Published in *B. C. H.* XVII, 1893, p. 304; and Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 458, no. 284. Date soon after 253 A. D.

ΤΗΝΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΗΝ
ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΣΑΛΩΝΕΙΑΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΤΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΟΥΗΜΘΑΝΤΟΠΛΙΟΥ
ΑΙΚΙΝΝΙΟΥΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΗΛΑΜΤΡΑΤΩΝΑΤΤΑΜΕΩΝ
ΠΟΛΙΣ

τὴν θεοφιλεστάτην
 Κορηλίαν Σαλωνείναν
 Σεβαστὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ποπλίου
 Δικιννίου Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 ἣ λαμπρὰ τῶν Ἀπαμέων
 πόλις

The previous publications omit the theta in l. 1 and the final *ov* in l. 5 and give the wrong form of omega throughout the inscription, which is a pendant to the inscriptions honoring the two sons of Gallienus.⁴

4. Marble slab found in 1924 in a field above the town, 1.05 m. high, 0.28 m. wide, 0.18 m. thick.

ΧΕΡΕ
 ΑΥΡΕΡΜΙΩΝΗ
 ΕΠΩΙΗΕΝΤΩ
 ΗΩΩΝΕΑΥΗ
 ΚΩΑΝΔΡΙΑΥΗ
 ΕΡΜΕΙΚΤΩΙΚΤΕΚΝΩΙC
 ΑΥΤΩΑΤΤΑΛΙΑΝΩ
 ΚΕΡΜΕΙΕΙΔΕΤΙC
 ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥCΕΙ
 ΘΗCΕΙΙCΤΩΤΑ
 ΜΙΕΙΩΝ*Φ

χέρε.
 Αὐρ. Ἑρμιόνη
 ἐποίησε<ν> τὸ
 ἥρῳον ἑαυτῇ
 κὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
 Ἑρμεί κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις
 αὐτῆς Ἀτταλιανῷ
 κὲ Ἑρμεί; εἰ δέ τις
 ἐπιτηδεύσει,
 θήσει ἰς τὸ τα-
 μεῖον (δηνάρια)φ'

This inscription dates after 212 in the third century A. D. with the square forms of omicron and omega and several ligatures. *χέρε* for *χαίρε* and *κέ* for *καί* show the frequent use of *ε* for *αι* but the *ν* at the end of *ἐποίησεν* is due to Phrygian illiteracy. The name *Hermes* as a personal name occurs in another inscription at Dineir.⁵ It occurs also in an unpublished inscription which I copied at Ladik. The Phrygians liked mythological names.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* XVI, 1891, pp. 146 f.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* XX, 1895, p. 237; Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 538, no. 399.

ΕΡΜΑΣΑΣΚΛΗ
ΠΙΟΥΑΠΠΗ
ΣΥΝΒΙΩΚΑΙ
ΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝ

Ἑρμᾶς Ἀσκλη-
πίου Ἀππη
συνβίω καὶ
ἑαυτῷ ζῶν

5. Stone found near Dineir. I made a copy but failed to measure the stone.

ΤΕΡΤΙΑΗ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΗΡΩΕΙΣΧΡΗ
ΕΤΗΧΑΙΡΕ

Τερτία ἡ
Διοδώρου
ἡρωεὺς χρη-
στὴ χαίρει

6. Stone found near Dineir.

ΘΕΩ
ΥΥΙCΤΩ
ΕΥΧΗΝ
ϙΑΥΡϙ
ΠΑΛΟC
ΟΚΑΙΕΠ
ΘΥΛΗΤ
ΙΑΤΡ

θεῷ
ὑψίστῳ
εὐχὴν
Αυρ.
Πα(ῦ)λος
ὁ καὶ Ἐπ[ι-]
θύμητ[ος
ἰατρ[ός

On a broken sarcophagus at Ladik I copied an unpublished inscription which mentions a physician Paulus, Παύλ[ου ἰα]τροῦ καὶ οἱ.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

LINGUISTIC LACONICISM

Certain philologists, notably Tegnér, Hoops, E. H. Sturtevant, and Jespersen, have sought a criterion of philological comparison in the statistical computation of the number of syllables required in rendering the same text in different languages. Their collated estimates for the Gospel of St. Matthew in Greek, French, German, Swedish, Danish, and English (cf. Jespersen, *Language, its Nature, Development, and Origin*, p. 330) are approximately 39,000 for Greek, 36,000 for French, 35,000 for Swedish, 33,000 for German, 32,500 for Danish, and 29,000 for English.

The present writer has undertaken to extend this census of syllables to all the other available members of the Indo-European system, and submits herewith his estimates for forty languages as follows:

I. *Indo-Iranian Group.*

Bengali	48,000		
Panjabi	46,000		
Sanskrit	42,500		
Urdu	42,000		
Hindi	40,000		
Persian	40,000	Average . .	43,100

II. *Albanian Group.*

Tosk dialect . .	44,000		
Gheg dialect . .	41,500	Average . .	42,750

III. *Latin Group.*

Rumanian	44,000		
Portuguese	42,000		
Italian	41,000		
Latin	39,000		
Spanish	39,000		
French	36,000	Average . .	40,200

IV. *Greek Group.*

Hellenistic Greek . .	39,000		
Modern Greek . .	39,000	Average . .	39,000

V. *Celtic Group.*

Welsh	39,500		
Breton	39,500		
Manx	39,000		
Gaelic (Scotch) .	38,000		
Gaelic (Irish) . .	38,000	Average . .	38,800

VI. *Armenian Group.*

Modern Armenian .	37,500	Average . .	37,500
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VII. *Balto-Slavonic Group.*

Lithuanian . . .	39,500		
Bulgarian . . .	39,500		
Serbian	39,500		
Lettish	39,000		
Polish	35,000		
Russian	34,000		
Bohemian	33,000		
Ruthenian	32,500	Average . .	36,500

VIII. *Germanic Group.*

Swedish	35,000		
Flemish	35,000		
Anglo-Saxon . . .	35,000		
Dutch	34,000		
German	33,000		
Danish	32,500		
Frisian	32,000		
Icelandic	31,000		
Norwegian	30,000		
English	29,000	Average . .	32,650

These figures are approximate only, and subject to certain qualifications. Bengali, for instance, has been encumbered by native pedants with cumbersome spellings which are often no nearer the current pronunciation than the English "Marjori-banks" and "Cholmondeley." The Bengali figure thus ought probably to be written down by nearly ten per cent. But for that matter, clipped forms exist in popular speech in nearly all of the languages given, and to base one's estimates on the actual

spoken language in each case would be an almost intolerable task. The only feasible plan has been to accept the orthographic standard throughout and to consider the variables in the respective languages as equated one to another.

When inaccuracies of phonology have been waived, a more fundamental qualification must be faced. Syllables vary in the vocalizing effort which they represent; for the consonants as well as the vowels need to be taken into account. Thus while English has 30 per cent. fewer syllables than Italian, the English syllables involve many more heavy consonant-groups than do those in Italian. "Throbbing heart" and "amore" have the same number of syllables, but represent very different expenditures of vocal effort. The Semite finds the disyllabic "Scotland" harder to enunciate than the pentasyllabic "iscotalandi." And the Russian monosyllables "tchtaw, tchtit, zdess" (what, reader, here) seem very uncouth indeed. Brevity may often be synonymous with ruggedness and intractability.

When all these reservations have been made, however, two distinct generalizations would seem to crystallize out of the data:

(1). Within any family or group, the language with the smallest number of syllables tends to be the one with the fewest inflections. Persian in the Indo-Iranian group, French in the Romance group, and English in the Germanic group are cases in point. The Slavic family is not entirely consistent, but etymological factors explain much, while its most erring member, Bulgarian, has gained through an article and prepositions what it has lost in inflections. Comparisons are impracticable within the Greek, Armenian, Celtic, and Albanian groups. There are apparent inconsistencies in languages like Portuguese and Italian, which are in excess of the parent Latin. It would seem that the syllabic reduction due to inflectional decay may for a time be more than counterbalanced by the syllabic increase due to the use of particles and prepositions and even to the development of new inflectional forms, such as the Romance future. In the change from Latin to Spanish and from classical Greek to modern Greek, these tendencies virtually compensate for one another. French is the only member of the Romance group in which the breakdown proceeds further and reduction prevails.

(2). In the Indo-European system as a whole, certain fami-

lies or groups seem to have by nature a smaller number of syllables than other families. A glance at the group averages will detect a marked change from 43,100 for Indo-Iranian down to 32,650 for Germanic. For that matter, the highest individual member of the Germanic group (Swedish, with 35,000) is lower than the average of any other group; while Persian, which is almost as analytic as English, has its syllables 38 per cent. more abundant than those of English and actually more numerous than those of any member of the Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Armenian, Greek, and Celtic groups, many of which are highly inflectional. In other words, linguistic laconicism seems to be an inherent quality in certain families of languages.

WATSON KIRKCONNELL.

WESLEY COLLEGE,
WINNIPEG, CANADA.

POLYBIUS OF MEGALOPOLIS

THE STATESMAN, POLITICAL THINKER AND HISTORIAN OF DECADENT AND DECAYING GREECE

It cannot be the object of this study to fix the place for the Achaian man of affairs. He wrote the swan-song of Hellenic Freedom as well as its cause and correlative, the irresistible surge and spread of Roman Imperialism. I must not, I say, endeavor to determine the rank of Polybius in the gallery of classic historians. Such efforts are apt to be one-sided or subjective. Is he as worthy of high esteem as Thucydides? In the first place the political history of the Mediterranean world was fully 250 years older; further, the tongue and culture of Greece, from Alexander on, had spread from the Euphrates, from the Caspian Gates and from the Cataracts of the Nile to Spain and what we now call Gibraltar. Thus the immediate public of possible readers of Polybius indeed was vastly larger than that of the Athenian. Pergamon also and Alexandria were now unique and ever-expanding conservatories of literature. Polybius indeed was a contemporary of Krates of Mallos and of Aristarchos of Samothrace. In those great libraries every shred of historiography was scrupulously preserved. Over and over again Polybius depreciates the historians who limit themselves to particular themes or states.¹ Dominating his own life, the central point of a life-long experience, whether in action or in observation and reflection—what was it? It was the new unity in the political movement of the Mediterranean World;² viz. the rise of Rome and her irresistible imperialism. Zama, the conquest of Spain, the humiliation of Macedon first (197 B. C.) and later the extinction of that dynasty³ (168), the curbing and humiliation of the Seleucidae (190), the extermination of Carthage by his own friend and *quondam* pupil, Scipio (146 B. C.), the elimination of the last remnant of autonomy in his own native land, the '*divide et impera*' policy of the Roman senate in dealing with major and minor states of the East, in that ill-assorted

¹ The κατὰ μέρος συγγραφείς, *passim*.

² The οἰκουμένη.

³ The original *terminus ad quem* of P.'s plan and design.

congeries of political units evolved out of Alexander's inheritance: all this Polybius witnessed and had no mean share in it. And, moreover, there was in his own personality an absorption of Hellenic culture, from Homer and Hesiod to the Stoics. Stoicism indeed was his own *Weltanschauung*. And with all this was combined a maturity and virility, which we must rate all the more highly, because it fell in with the period of Hellenic disintegration and decadence.

I

Almost all we have of his works, almost all now left from his industrious and indefatigable⁴ pen, was the composition of an elderly and aging man;⁵ the last *testimonium veterum* preserved is that afforded by Ps.-Lucian (Macrobioi 22): "Polybius, son of Lycortas, of Megalopolis, having returned from the country, fell from his horse, and, falling ill from this, died at the age of 82." Few are the octogenarians who will use the saddle at all—no stirrups then! Clearly Polybius was a rarely vigorous, nay robust, man to the end of his long life.⁶

There is an interesting reminiscence from his own earlier life, when he could not have been more than an observer. In 187 there arrived in Megalopolis an Athenian, Demetrios, official envoy from young Ptolemy Epiphanes, to renew the alliance (*συνμυχία*) with the Achaian League. Now Polybius⁷ brings in some details of that visit; we would call it anecdotal. It was an entertainment given the envoy by Philopoimen, after the renewal of the alliance was formally accomplished. During the entertainment (most likely a state-banquet) the envoy enlarged much on the hunting prowess of his young sovereign, giving this detail: that young Ptolemy Epiphanes once, while hunting on

⁴ Of course *not* his biography of Philopoimen, the glorious ideal and incentive of his earlier manhood.

⁵ Strabo's 43 books of "Continuation of Polybius," which was a much greater work than his Geography, was a task that filled the greater part of his life. See my study of Strabo *Am. J. Ph.* 1923.

⁶ Polybius XXXVI. 12, 5 tells us that he was the first of that name. The probable genealogy of the family is given in Dittenberger, *S.*,⁸ 626, N. 2.

⁷ Writing after 146, more than 40 years after the incident (XXIII. 1, 5).

horseback, brought down a wild steer with a javelin propelled by a strap (§ 9). Polybius in 187 was about 19 years old. So even then the youth P. had begun to gather and hold what he could of contemporary politics, and did not begin only after the collapse of Macedon on the fatal field of Pydna (168). Pronounced characters are not modeled or moulded by circumstances, or by that hard-worked biological thing, 'environment.' So even then the Achaian League oscillated between Nile and Tiber. And so slender even then was the thread of Achaian autonomy that Roman envoys personally attended a session of the Achaian Congress at Kleitor, Arcadia, to observe, influence, and report.

In 185 B. C., when *Aristainos* was strategos of the League (P. XXIII. 7), envoys came from Eumenes of Pergamon, *donaferentes*; and similar delegates were on the ground from Seleukos of Syria. We see then the league of the early manhood of P. literally courted by all the three Great Powers of the day. Rome was stern and monitory; Syria and Egypt alluring and competitive, not to speak of minor states, such as Pergamon, Bithynia and Rhodes.

Lycortas, his father, had returned from Alexandria where the treaty had been ratified, and P. inserts the report which his father then made, with the clarity of political matter and that absence of rhetoric or verbal embellishment, which is one of his finest and most outstanding characteristics. But in the actual report of the envoys there was a vagueness which neither Lycortas nor Philopoimen was able to explain or defend, and so they were then and there taken to task by the official head of the League, *Aristainos*. There is acidity in the way P. related it eventually, some 40 years later. I believe he, even in his earlier years, kept a kind of political diary. Again, in the midst of the celebration of the Nemean festival, *Caecilius Metellus* came down from Macedon, where he had acted as arbiter between Philip of Macedon and some contiguous communities. *Aristainos* promptly summoned his fellow-officials to meet the Roman envoy at Argos. The rebuke administered by the Roman to the League for its treatment of Sparta is presented by P. with delicate psychological detail, and we may as well set down here, quite confidently and distinctly, two points which must be borne in mind for this entire study. One, that he began to observe and record

early, the other, his consistent striving to see for himself, to be an *αὐτόπτης*.⁸ Here then, in what we may call the Achaian cabinet meeting, P. notes the silence of Aristainos, president of the Federation (as we would call him)—silence after the Roman's rebuke. The fact was that the president was pro-Roman, and considered the rebuke justified. Caecilius demanded the summoning of the general congress (*ἐκκλησία*) of the League. He was asked whether he had with him written instructions to that effect from the Senate (XXIII. 10, 11). He then became angry and withdrew without any final answer from the officials of the Federation. The strategos A. was blamed for it all. It is obvious that in those earlier years P. was anything but a pro-Roman. He certainly at 21 resented, quite as fully as his own father and his ideal Philopoimen, the incessant meddling and dictatorial intrusion into Greek affairs of the Roman Senate.

Archon soon succeeded Aristainos as chief magistrate. He also differed from Philopoimen's policy (XXIII. 10^a). There was a conference between these two at which Polybius was himself present. And, however strong his affection then was for Philopoimen, he censures him for insincerity in his political conference with the other leader, Archon: A man of honor must not diplomatically say those things which are not in harmony with his inward convictions and purpose.⁹

In 183 occurred the tragic end of Philopoimen by the poison cup administered by his captors, the Messenians. The very fact that P. places Philopoimen in a triptych with Hannibal and Scipio is significant: they all died about the same time (if not in the same year). As for the Achaian leader named, a man may have at least elements of greatness when serving a weak or declining commonwealth. It is a brutal philosophy that conditions greatness on success. At the funeral procession, P., young though he was for such a distinguished function, had the honor of bearing the funeral urn containing the ashes of his father's friend and co-worker, urn hardly visible for the mass

⁸ Cf. I. 46, 4; XXXIII. 4, 3. Often Mommsen is content to transcribe Polybius; as e. g. in his relation of this conference, R. G. III, Chapter 9, Vol. 1, pp. 725-26, in the original 2nd German edition of 1856.

⁹ *ἔμοιγε μὴν οὔτε τότε παρόντι τὸ ῥηθὲν εὐηρέστησεν, οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἡλικίας προβαίνουσας*, XXIII. 10^a, 2.

of ribbons and wreaths covering it.¹⁰ These honors came in 182 B. C. when P. was about 24. In the following year, 181, Lycortas, his son Polybius and Aratos the younger were chosen by the Achaeans to go to Alexandria, to render formal thanks to the King (still very young and one of the most foolish of that incestuous dynasty), Ptolemy Epiphanes, and also to take over his political donation, a squadron of ten penteconteric men-of-war. Unfortunately, however, Epiphanes died before the envoys set out. And Polybius adds that he himself was really younger¹¹ than the legal age for such a commission. The death of Epiphanes was in the latter part of 181. My own approximate computation would place the birth of Polybius about 206 B. C. or somewhere in the last decade of the 3rd century B. C.

Now the affirmed and reaffirmed historical political thesis of the historian Polybius is this: that, within a period of time but slightly more than 50 years,¹² i. e. from the time when Hannibal threw down the gauntlet to Rome at Saguntum (219 B. C.) to the end of the Macedonian dynasty on the field of Pydna 168 and the settlement of the East bound up therewith, the *οἰκουμένη* directly and indirectly passed under the sway of Rome. And his further thesis is that Rome was not only much stronger than the powers left, *but also more worthy to rule them all*. Now, further, Polybius iterates and reiterates this fundamental theme so frequently as to remind us of an academic teacher in a course of lectures, a long course, I mean. And this with reason; for this outlook and this sweeping conviction was gained by him as a *πραγματικὸς ἀνὴρ*, a man of affairs, traveller, statesman, observer, general, envoy, expatriated for seventeen years but still by an exquisite turn of Fortune domesticated in the foremost family of Rome, thus gaining a directness of vision such as was vouchsafed to no Greek historian before or since. Now in the case of the Megalopolitan there was superadded something further. He is as deeply interested in the principles and the sound *theory*

¹⁰ Plutarch's Philopoimen c. 21, mainly compiled from Polybius' early work.

¹¹ νεώτερον ὄντα τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἡλικίας, XXV. 7, 5.

¹² ὃ τε γὰρ χρόνος ὁ πεντηκοντακαιτριετής—with the political corollary that one must heed the *messages* of Rome (written probably *before* Mummius destroyed Corinth).

of historiography, as he is in the annals of his own proper enterprise. Hence also the polemic or controversial digressions dealing with other historians (mainly from Ephoros and Theopompos to his own time, and most of all against the expatriated Sicilian Timaeus). This double theme or this Janus-face in the work—we may say in the very *ingenium* or personality of Polybius—has puzzled his readers always. And still another, though minor point, is his consistent depreciation of what we may render as the “particularistic historians.”¹³ These remind him of students of nature, who observe some limb or joint, without witnessing themselves, directly, the function and fairness of the living being as a whole.¹⁴

Is it really proper or worth while, is it possible, to add something material to the work of Freeman, K. W. Nitzsch, Mommsen, Curt Wachsmuth, Heitland or Bury (J. B.)? I will state here that I have conceived a *very high* opinion indeed of Heitland's utilization of Polybius in his History of the Roman Republic (1909; second printing 1923). I am confident, however, that a clearer vision is still possible through a close correlation of all homogeneous data in the extant writings. Let us begin by estimating the bulk of the original work, the forty books of his *Historiae* (ιστορίαι). Taking the average of the *first five* books which have reached us (through the Byzantine period) unimpaired, viz. 116 pp. normal Teubner text (books of abnormally large compass),¹⁵ the entire 40 books would then (roughly) amount to a work of some 4640 pages of Teubner text, or some 13 volumes of 350 pp. text each in that kind of edition. The excerpts now preserved,¹⁶ some 843 pp. Teubner, constitute the

¹³ οἱ κατὰ μέρος γράφοντες τὰς ιστορίας: on towns, foundations, colonies, etc., I. 4, 6; he is interested in τὸ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης σχῆμα (ib.).

¹⁴ I. 4, 7: ἡ κατὰ μέρος ιστορία . . . αὐτόπτης. Of course English lexicographers would not permit us to translate αὐτόπτης as “Self-seer.”

¹⁵ Cf. Birt, *Antikes Buchwesen*, p. 313; almost the longest βιβλοι (volumina) in ancient production. The amount of digressive detail which modern practice would probably put into footnotes, is startling. I believe in all antiquity only Strabo excelled him there. Herodotus is absolutely *sui generis*.

¹⁶ The most precious and extensive being due to the interest and direction of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII (Porphyrogenetos), 912-959 A. D.

heaviest salvage of any great author of antiquity—about one-fifth of the original work.

I shall not endeavor to undertake that favorite and futile task, to reconstruct the lost Polybius. Rather would I desire to bring out, truly and exhaustively if I may, his aims, and his personality—as far as possible through his own utterances. Did he, *immediately* after his expatriation,¹⁷ as one of the thousand Achaians (anti-Romans they were called by their enemies at home), in 167 B. C., at once become a thick and thin Romano-phil? Assuredly not. To begin with, long before this catastrophe in his life—he was then about 39-40 years of age—he had formed the habit of examining with great and conscientious care¹⁸ the two or more sides to any given problem. He disdained, as any genuine historian *must* disdain, being a mere partisan propagandist.

II

In the frequent monitions or allocutions to his readers, academic, political, moralizing elements are admirably fused, and they are not a jot less precious particularly at the present time (1923) than when they were originally penned; and this, too, although, compared with Herodotus and with Thucydides, he has no style at all. He would have resented the demand for such a thing. Impartiality? Take the Hannibalic war. Both *Philinos* (for the Punic side) and *Fabius Pictor* (for the Roman), Polybius urges, had been partial, as a lover would be; they are eulogists and special pleaders, not historians in the proper sense (I. 14, 1 sqq.). An earnest patriot, Polybius admits, often cannot be much otherwise; but when one once has assumed the true character of an historian (τὸ ιστορίας ἦθος) he must forget all such things; he must often praise his enemies (τοὺς ἐχθροὺς) and censure those nearest to himself (I. 14, 4-5), whenever their failings suggest that. "For just as a living being, when deprived of sight, is rendered entirely useless, so too, when *Truth* is removed from History, the remnant becomes a useless narrative."¹⁹ One must hold oneself aloof from *those*

¹⁷ One of the most ruthless and cowardly acts in the long record of Roman Imperialism.

¹⁸ He was a Stoic of deep conviction also.

¹⁹ ἀνωφελὲς διήγημα.

who act, and adjust one's historical judgments to the *acts*. So when our Polybius is contrasting the defender of Peloponnesian autonomy, Philopoimen, with the pro-Roman politician Aristainos (XXV. 9 sq.), one feels in the report of their conference that the moral and political sympathies of the historian, when he was writing (some forty or more years later), were with the first named. Philopoimen urged [after the humiliation of Philip of Macedon (197) and that of Antiochus (190)]: "If we (Greeks) ourselves, slighting our own principles of justice, obey every order (from Rome) like subjects captured by the spear (*δοριάλωτοι*), what difference will there be between our own Achaian Federation and the people of Sicily and Capua who, as every one knows, have been enslaved long ago?" Now Aristainos wished to hasten the trend towards Rome, while Philopoimen's policy was to retard it as much as possible, fated though it might seem to be; two policies these, of which the one is called by Polybius morally noble, the other speciously attractive. The sympathies of Polybius are obvious enough.²⁰

[His choice of devoting his life to historiography in the widest sense was *not* occasioned or caused by his expatriation in 167 B. C.; nay, he began (he formed the habit), at a very early age, to observe, to register, preserve, political data and material in all the world of the Mediterranean as far as he could. No material then, assorted as now, in countless libraries, easily verified or otherwise quotable, nor stored away in archives with secretive purpose, but often cast in bronze tablets or chiseled in *stelai* quite accessible! The question then arises: Was it Pydna with the catastrophe of the dynasty and the subjection of Macedon, *once* the world-power in Alexander's career—was it this, the momentous outcome of the *Bellum Persicum* as the Romans called this war? The campaigns of 171 and 170 had been utterly mismanaged by the Roman commanders, curiously incompetent as they were. In the latter year Perseus more than held his own, both on his Epirote frontier and also his Thessalian; the prestige of Rome began to suffer severely both east and

²⁰ Mommsen's admirable and trenchant relation uses every usable datum in the remaining Polybius with Mommsen's own genius for historical reconstruction.

west of the Aegean. In 169 B. C., Marcius Philippus proved himself a thoroughly incompetent strategist, saved from utter discomfiture only by the cautious timidity of the bastard King of Macedon.

How did the collapse after Pydna affect the fate of Southern Greece? How did it concern the Achaian League? I am trying to answer this with the data furnished by Polybius. In the year before Pydna (169 B. C.), a Roman political agent, C. Popilius, appeared in the Peloponnesus, with the purpose of charging Lycortas, Polybius and Archon with being pro-Macedonian at heart and merely watching the issue of arms in the North (*παρατηροῦντας τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντας*, XXVIII. 3, 8); but for the time being Popilius thought it wiser to keep his commission a private matter, and, after meeting the Council of the Achaian League at Aigion, to sail across to Aetolia. Now in this pre-Pydna time the League chose as chief magistrate a man by the name of Archon, who at heart was pro-Roman, having before him the fate of some pro-Macedonian Aetolians then interned at Rome, virtually hostages for the correct behavior of *their* League. As for the Southern Federation, Lycortas (XXVIII. 6, 3) was for strict and honest neutrality as between Rome and Macedon.²¹ We read between the lines of Polybius the actual situation: *private enemies* (*ἐχθροί*) of men in public office, men of Achaia, it was, who by private letters (against Achaian fellow-citizens) sought to curry Roman favor. It was in this body of circumstances that Archon was chosen "*strategos*" and Polybius *hipparchos*. And Polybius himself, though writing probably many years later, said that Archon had spent a great deal of money in the course of his candidacy.²² At this point for the first time²³ Polybius relates a political discourse of his own (l. c., 8 sqq.). Rhodes had sent envoys to the League, as had Eumenes of Pergamon: Polybius rebuked the action of Rhodes, and his view was incorporated in a resolution of the Assembly (ib. 14).

²¹ He forgot that victorious Imperialism will not endure any neutrality that interferes.

²² διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδαπανηκέναι, XXVIII. 7, 7.

²³ As far as the extant excerpts permit us to see.

A little later Archon determined to aid Rome outright with an armed contingent of his League, in order to meet the slanders of his domestic enemies "by acts." A general levy (πανδημεί) was actually voted (all in 169, we must keep in mind); also that envoys were to go to the camp of the Roman commander in the North (Marcius Philippus) to learn from him at once when and where (πότε καὶ ποῦ) the Greek corps were to join the main army of Rome. Polybius was to be one of the delegates, in case the offer were accepted by the Roman commander. Polybius was to remain in the North and provide for the commissariat of the Achaian troops while *en route* to the North.²⁴ Polybius was chief spokesman of this mission; but the Roman commander declined the whole offer.²⁵ Polybius alone of the envoys remained in the North. Likewise did Marcius forbid the sending of 5000 Achaians to support the Roman operations in Epirus, on the western flank of the Roman position. When Polybius himself returned home, he was confronted by bitter opposition at the League congress at Sikyon. It was about the call from the Epirote front. He had to defend himself. The expense would have been 120 talents, and besides Polybius quoted a general *Senatus Consultum* of Rome, which forbade non-Romans obeying Roman commanders in any concrete case, *unless* such commanders *were* fortified by a S. C. disposing of the matter. But while the Achaian Assembly adopted the presentation of Polybius by a formal vote, he left in the hands of his political or personal enemies adequate resources for slanderous insinuation by and by.

168. Let us take up, now, some significant data of the period, in the North, after Pydna. We learn from Polybius that in his Councils of War Aemilius Paullus sometimes *spoke Greek*, as when, e. g. the prisoner of state, the deposed King Perseus, was to listen; and again *shifted to Latin* when making a moralizing application of this extraordinary situation,²⁶ warning his own sub-commanders earnestly against the lure of Pride, or against blind trust in an unchangeable Fortune. Whence did Polybius

²⁴ Heitland reproduces Polybius with great exactness.

²⁵ Heitland thinks, from distrust; Polybius wrote χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν.

²⁶ When the last successor of Alexander the Great was a Roman prisoner of state.

draw such delicate, almost anecdotal but supremely significant, detail?²⁷ He might well be forgiven when recording (though later on) as a contemporary of the events, the incalculable ways of Τύχη in the fall of great empires. Some of the last scenes in his narrative of the passing of Macedon are rendered, it seems to me, with almost photographic fidelity; he was deeply impressed with a quasi-prediction or monition, in the monograph on Τύχη by Demetrius of Phaleron,²⁸ a grand echo as it were of Herodotus and Aeschylus.

Let us turn again to the life of Polybius. Even before the fourth and last of the Macedonian campaigns in the *Bellum Persicum*, envoys from Alexandria had come to the Achaian League, beseeching aid for the younger of the two boy-heirs of Egypt against Antiochus of Syria. When the congress declined, the delegates from Egypt produced letters in which the participation of Polybius and his father was specifically desired. But as Popilius Laenus compelled Antiochus to abstain from an attack on Egypt, the two Achaians remained at home, sufficiently engrossed with events in the North.

We now come to that event in the life of Polybius, in which his rôle was not active, but passive, yet one which determined all the rest of his career and life. Callicrates²⁹ was the most conspicuous and the most unscrupulously selfish and scheming among the pro-Roman Greeks of his time and land, although

²⁷ One might be inclined to believe, from the life of Scipio Aemilianus, later on (XXIX. 6^c, 4).

²⁸ XXIX. 6^c—the longest verbatim citation in the extant works of Polybius.

²⁹ Of Leontion (one of the original 12 cities of the Achaian League, situated in the mountains between Aigion and Pharai), long an adversary of Lycortas and the son of L., seeking to capitalize himself with Rome, after the fall of Macedon, by acting as spy among his own folk. Statues were erected in his honor. Another politician of the same type was Charops, the Epirote, even more cruel. The victor of Pydna himself seems to have made it his policy to ignore or avoid these despicable informers and time-servers while he was in Greece (Livy 45, 28, 6), but he could not be everywhere. So (l. c. § 7) at Demetrias Aemilius heard, from Aetolian suppliant delegates, DL principes ab Lycisco et Tisippo, circumseuso senatu per milites Romanos, missos ab A. Baebio praesidii praefecto, interfectos, alios in exilium actos esse, bonaque eorum, qui interfecti essent, et exulum, possideri.

these were very numerous. One thousand Achaians were expatriated by the Senate's endorsing the report of the senatorial commissioners returning from the Peloponnesus. The exiles were to live mainly in Etruria (Pausan. VII. 10, 7, who elsewhere draws heavily on Polybius). Lycortas, fortunately for him, had died. (To betray their own country for profit, Pausanias adds, is something οὐποτε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς [from all time—an awful indictment] τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκλιπόν.) At one time *one* of the commissioners (Paus. loc. cit.) actually urged the Achaian congress, *in session*, to condemn the 1000 patriots to death.³⁰ But at this extremity of Callicrates' policy his countrymen balked (167 B. C.). In this same year, Aemilius Paullus, the victor at Pydna, made a cultural tour of Greece, not at all as a Roman Emperor, nor in the interest even of Roman Imperialism. No, it was Homeric localities and associations, Athens with her incomparable record of thought, art, literary production, which fascinated the elderly gentleman from the Tiber. When, at Olympia, he gazed on the majestic Zeus of Pheidias, an uncommon emotion swept his soul.³¹ And it was in that family, as we shall see, that Polybius eventually found shelter, whom in a way, politically speaking, we may very fairly call the *Last of the Greeks*.

Now Aemilius Paullus had a three days' triumph in this year (167 B. C.) beginning November 27th ('EX MACEDONIA ET REGE PERSE'). Did the Prisoner of State, only one among one thousand, probably scattered through Etruria, witness that parade of Roman Imperialism? The only consolation he had was this, that his father Lycortas was dead, and not there with him to witness (as αὐτόπτης) the end of Greek political life.³²

³⁰ Alleging that the "most powerful" of the Achaians had—a crime!—actually furnished funds to Perseus of Macedon.

³¹ See details of this tour in Plut. Aem. Paullus c. 28; cf. Heitland, 542 sqq.

³² Note as to the decree of expatriation.—It was a cruel and ruthless decree but mild compared with what execution would have been. In Livy 45, 28 sqq. the implied condemnation of many of the acts of the Roman commissioners is most palpable. I have not the slightest doubt—and I believe Heitland has not—that much of Livy there is simply a

II

Why did not Polybius, technically "interned" in Italy (as we have learned to say in these latter years)—*why*, we may now ask, did not Polybius, writing at home, *many* years after the fall of Corinth 146, why did he not stop with Pydna, the definite limit of his original theme? ³³ When that later crisis supervened, and the smoking ruins of Corinth marked the *Finis Graeciae* both to the historian and to all other observant contemporaries, he had actually completed his first two books. Thirty-eight were only, as yet, in design. A veritable wilderness of conjectures has grown up on this desolate field. One problem only must I urge: Was he quite through with his great life-task when the Numantine War summoned his friend Aemilianus to Spain? Did Scipio make him his *contubernalis*? ³⁴ It would have been the most natural thing in the world. In 134 Polybius was indeed 70 or so, but we know that up to 82 he had a robust constitution.

Let us now attempt to set down, from Polybius directly, what traces of Autobiography are available (largely here from the

Latinized Polybius. We often seem to read a cramped and hurried syllabus. For to Polybius, as the close student comes to know him, the enduring political results of Pydna were surely not less interesting than that catastrophic contest itself. I quote from Livy 45, 31: *Tria genera principum in civitatibus erant, duo* (where Callicrates and his type figured so heavily, and then the venal pro-Macedonians at the other extreme) *quae adulando aut Romanorum imperium aut amicitiam regum* (Perseus, Gentius, perhaps also Eumenes of Pergamon) *sibi privatim opes oppressis faciebant civitatibus; medium unum* (Polybius, Lycortas, I take it) *utrique generi adversum, libertatem et leges* (autonomy and the constitution) *tuebatur*.

Livy (45, 31) refers to Callicrates thus: *Callicratem et ceteros criminum auctores delatoresque*. These scoundrelly politicians cooked up the charges and undertook the work of informers and prosecutors before the Roman commissioners. As regards incriminating material for prosecutions in other states, the archives and correspondence furnished substantial material; quite differently from the United States of the Achaean League: in Achaeis caecum erat crimen. The impressive fact remains that Livy has passed over the exile of the 1000 Achaeans in silence: we may confidently add, in deliberate silence.

³³ I refer once more to III. 4, 2.

³⁴ Polybius wrote a Numantinum Bellum (Cic. *ad Fam.* V. 12, 2).

Fragments). These indeed are often glimpses merely, but pulsating still with life and meaning. These data we must keep apart from his iterated and reiterated discourses on historiography in general, though such digressions too are distinctly personal.

We return to the city of Rome. Of course, the Scipios loved Menander; of course, Aemilius Paullus did. Hence the strong regard of young men like Scipio Aemilianus and his bosom-friend Laelius for the "*dimidiatus Menander*," Terentius Afer, whose Latinizations kept so closely to the Attic of that prince of the New Comedy. When the *Andria* came on the stage, Aemilianus was but 19 years, and but 25 when he and his brother Fabius engaged, for the *parentalia* of their lately deceased natural father, the *Adelphi* of that same young author,³⁵ and Polybius (the mentor of Aemilianus in all literary, philosophical and Near East matters) was about 45. (But in this tracing work we must not anticipate the year of death of the victor of Pydna.)

The next available item in Polybius' life is connected with something distinctly personal, nay adventurous, in the detention period of Polybius. It was in 162. Scipio Aemilianus, some 23 years of age, then dwelled in the *aedes* of the victor of Zama, in Rome, and was, after the death of his own adoptive father, the *pater familias* in that distinguished abode. Twenty-three also was the age of the Seleucid Demetrius,³⁶ legitimate claimant of the throne of Antiochus, detained in Italy as a dynastic hostage since 175 B. C., when he was a lad of ten. Now, in 162, events in the homeland determined the prince to make an attempt to gain the throne of his ancestors, and escape as quietly as possible from Italy.

³⁵ Didascalia: Acta ludis funebribus Aemilii Paulli, quos fecere Q. Fabius Maximus, P. Cornelius Africanus (name anticipated from 146 B. C.).

³⁶ See in Wissowa, Demetrius No. 40 (Demetrius I Soter). Heitland 583, of course condenses the whole episode in two lines. Appian *Syr.* 45, is briefer still. Polybius XXXI. 19 sqq., amounts to 6 pp. of Teubner text. We must not omit the turn of speech with which our historian condemns the detention: *παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον*—an act of the Roman Senate, mind you. It is one of the most precious excerpts ordered by Constantine Porphyrogenetos.

Polybius set down this whole matter in his annals for that year (162) with a detail which could not be greater if he had written an elaborate autobiography. Here then is, briefly told, the story of the two Greek exiles. The prince then summoned the older exile to a conference about the project. No historical novelist could put more detail into his narrative. Some time before 162, the Senate had refused to permit the grandson of Antiochus "the Great," to return home. So Polybius cites the proverb that "no one should twice stumble against the same stone," but rather the pretender should make the attempt *even without* any permission, to "risk something worthy of a throne" (τολμᾶν τι βασιλείας ἄξιον, XXXI. 19, 5). Demetrius, however, once more appeared before the Senate directly, but obtained no affirmative reply. What follows we too must greatly condense. It happened that at this very moment there was in Rome a certain Menyllos of Alabanda, Caria, representing the two Ptolemies of Alexandria. Him Polybius knew well of old and introduced to the Syrian prince. Menyllos thereupon engaged a ship, then at anchor at Ostia, and with its declaration for Tyre, the home city of Carthage, on some annual religious function. Promptly the prince's attendants went on board at Ostia, with but one servant each, to avoid notoriety. (Polybius was just then confined to his bed by illness but was kept informed by Menyllos.) Now young Demetrius was fond of wine and apt to blurt out things in his cups. Therefore Polybius through a slave of his own sent a closed note (πιττάκιον) without address or signature³⁷ to the cup-bearer of Demetrius, the latter to read it through *at once*, a note supremely non-incriminating. It contained mainly certain monitory lines from Greek classic authors,³⁸ the fifth being the familiar line, given by Polybius in the current Greek (κοινή) thus, νῆφε καὶ μέμνησο' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. On reading this the young prince at once cut short his feasting. He then dispatched certain of his slaves to Anagnia, to report next day with dogs and hunting nets at

³⁷ All of which might have caused him great discomfort with the Roman Senate.

³⁸ Three have a strong Menandrian flavor; the second is Eur. Phoen. 726.

Circeii on the coast, where Demetrius was wont to hunt wild boars. It was precisely such pursuits in that particular region through which Polybius had become directly known to the grandson of Antiochus. The skipper of that Carthaginian vessel, after receiving his money, was indifferent as to the precise time of weighing anchor. His secret passengers, the prince, his friends, and the slaves came on board in the third night watch. At the first dawn (*διαφάσκοντος*) the captain set sail. Demetrius reached Asia safely and eventually gained the throne of his grand-sire. This is a specimen, one only, of what I call the ubiquitous autobiographical element in our author. Had we the original forty books in their entirety, these features would be even more impressive. Did Polybius keep a diary? It was only on the *fourth* day that the prince's escape (*δρασμός*) became known; on the fifth the Senate was called to deliberate about it.

Further on in his thirty-first book Polybius set forth some of the evil results of the Pydna conquests on the morals of young Roman *nobiles*: Cato Censorius protested bitterly that "certain persons" (*τινές*) had brought into Rome the luxuries of foreign lands (*τὰς ξενικὰς τρυφάς*) having paid 300 drachmas (or denarii E. G. S.) for a small jar of pickled fish from the Pontus, and bought comely boys for a price exceeding that of a farmstead, for a talent in fact, and such grave monitions the old Roman uttered in *contiones* in the forum, from the Rostra, in 161-160 B. C., many years before Polybius actually composed his somewhat idealizing outline and eulogy of the Roman institutions. It is difficult for me, now, to harmonize much of Polybius VI with those Catonian indictments. There is no sober reason for doubting that Polybius personally heard such allocutions on the forum from the very lips of the Sage of Tusculum.

Of the great family of the Scipios Cato was the unrelenting, we may say the life-long, enemy, from his own quaestorship in 204 B. C. on, and especially in 187 B. C. in the official accounting of Lucius and Publius Scipio of treasure captured from Antiochus—this bitter investigation in Heitland 492—who was vigorously supported by the *homo novus* from Tusculum, M. Porcius Cato.³⁹

³⁹ The feud between Cato and the Scipios was mutual, not onesided; cf. Plutarch, Cato major, ch. 11. The real defendant in 187 was the

Now we are driven to ask: Was the Achaian exile (so exquisitely ensconced in the favour and honor of the Scipios), was our historian and political critic swayed by these personal relations? Specifically, does Polybius make a *hērōs* out of the Elder Scipio in his relation of that greatest of all Rome's struggles, the Hannibalian war? The victor of Zama, self-exiled from Rome at Liternum, had died some 15 years before Polybius became an intimate of the younger, the Scipio by adoption. Now as to the Hannibalian war, the editors of Livy, especially Weissenborn, have exhaustively brought out the dependency of the rhetor from Patavium upon our Polybius; the task has been done again and again and is now overdone. As for Scipio Africanus (the elder), Heitland speaks frankly of the "Scipionic legend" (460 and 351 footnote).⁴⁰ "History as written by Romans was always more concerned to edify the reader than to ascertain truth. Of family traditions⁴¹ we have spoken above; the persistence of this form of corruption may pretty certainly be traced in Polybius' partiality for the Scipios. The illustrious Greek was a seeker after truth; but he lived for years under the protection of the Scipios, had access to their records and caught some of the prejudices." Thus summarizes W. E. Heitland (276), a scholar distinguished by infinite industry, extreme caution in decision, and aloofness of rigid impartiality.⁴²

And at this point, without any controversial purpose whatever, we must take up a matter supremely essential in this inquiry. I mean the eulogies of Scipio Aemilianus and his natural father Aemilius Paullus. They are given in certain preserved excerpts of XXXII, a book written in the old age of Polybius. And he had, in his annalistic task, reached only the year 160,

great Publius, not his insignificant brother Lucius, a mere figurehead in the decisive campaign ending at *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, 190. The narrative of Polybius himself brings this out in an overwhelming fashion, throughout. Mommsen I. p. 728, calls the charges of 187 "ohne Zweifel nichtige Verlaeumdungen."

⁴⁰ But consult especially his admirable 276.

⁴¹ As often canonized in the recurrent *Laudatio Funebris*.—E. G. S.

⁴² Or, 358 fin. (when Scipio declined the title of King offered him by natives of Spain): "The story was an integral part of the Scipionic legend, a subject for rhetoricians" (only, there were no rhetorical schools in Rome in Polybian times).

and in that, the death of the victor of Pydna. In Livy, Epitome 46, we find the following syllabus: "L. Aemilius Paulus, qui Persen vicerat, mortuus, cuius tanta abstinentia fuit, ut, cum ex Hispania et ex Macedonia immensas opes rettulisset, vix ex auctione eius redactum sit, unde uxori eius dos solveretur." Now the preservation of Polybius XXXII. 8 sqq. is particularly fortunate. It is, as a rule, at the death of historical personages that their life and character are best surveyed. The demise of Aemilius Paullus, Polybius writes, uncovered the absolute consistency of his character and conduct. Neither from Spain nor from Macedon did he gain any private wealth whatever. Furthermore, Scipio Aemilianus and his elder brother (by birth) Fabius, in their legally prescribed duty of repaying their mother's dowry, even had to sell some lands of Aemilius. (It is to be noted that it would be impossible for any one to know the details of many things unless he were an intimate *hospes* of both *gentes*.) We pause here to observe the manner of Polybius. He actually ranks Aemilius higher than Aristides and Epaminondas, supreme as they were in the Hellenic Hall of Fame.⁴³ "The present writer" (Polybius adds, XXII. 8, 8) "knew (*ᾔδει*) that Romans particularly would take these books into their hands because their most conspicuous and most numerous achievements were contained in these—Romans, with whom it was neither possible that these could be ignored, nor likely that a teller of falsehood could obtain pardon."

Further on he takes up (*loc. cit.*, 9 sqq.) his own relations with his great and powerful friend Aemilianus. He explains why the reputation of that man rose so rapidly, abnormally so, in fact, and, with it, the widely known matter of the friendship and intimacy of Scipio and Polybius, so that the fame of this mutual affection and companionship⁴⁴ spread even beyond the confines of Italy and Hellas (9, 2). There is nothing abjectly deferential whatever in the phrasing of the older man. He goes on to tell with almost dramatic liveliness the incidents which led to this

⁴³ Polybius sums up all these high moral qualities by the seasoned term of *καλοκάγαθία*, XXXV. 4, 8.

⁴⁴ *τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν αὐτῶν*, XXXII. 9, 13. Add also Heitland, 574 and 548.

enduring relation. The Greek exile became acquainted with the two sons of Aemilius by the loan of some books, and a discussion of them. In the end the two young noblemen urged that Polybius should reside in Rome, and not in some little country town, we may add, of Etruria. Aemilius Paullus consented and so the matter was decided. Rome became the expatriated Achaian leader's second home. It was probably before the triumph of Aemilius Paullus, Nov. 27th to 29th, 167 B. C. The incident had taken place in the house of Fabius, the elder brother of Aemilianus. The three then went forth from that house; Fabius himself "turned aside towards the Forum" while Polybius and the younger of the brothers walked "in the other direction." As they were going on, the youth at his side, in a quiet and gentle way, while blushing, asked, why, when both brothers were at table, the Greek guest always directed his conversation at the elder brother and passed over the younger? Or did the Achaian scholar hold the same view about the youth (then speaking) that he was still and reserved and even sluggish (*νοθρός*), because he, Aemilianus, *was not going to be a pleader?*⁴⁵ (The whole bit of autobiography is veritably pulsating with life and truth.) Public opinion even had it, that the youth did not live up to the great traditions of his *gens*. It was there and then that Polybius promised his new and youthful friend.⁴⁶ As for Greek scholars, Polybius intimated that at the actual present time (after Pydna), they would become very plentiful in Rome, but for the moment no one would prove more suitable a co-worker with the young nobleman, than he, Polybius. "And while Polybius was still speaking, the young Roman grasped the right hand of Polybius with both his own and having pressed it with warm feeling said: "May I see the day on which you will reckon everything else of secondary importance and devote your mind to me and live in my company; for from this moment forward shall I seem to myself to be worthy of my

⁴⁵ *ὅτι κρίσεις οὐχ αἰρουμαι λέγειν* (*causas dicere*). Was the conversation in Latin or in Greek?

⁴⁶ Polybius (by my uttermost efforts of computation) was born about 206 B. C. Scipio quite definitely was born in 185; he was seventeen at Pydna, and eighteen in the year of his father's triumph.

family and my ancestors." No exegesis is necessary. From this mutual agreement (*ἀνθομολόγησις*) the youth (*τὸ μεираκίον*) was inseparably associated with Polybius; to Aemilianus, everything else, compared with that companionship,⁴⁷ was inferior.

Now we may pass over the question to whom of the two new friends this association was more creditable or honorable: clearly it was enormously advantageous to the Greek exile for all the rest of his life, from 39 to 82. Of the further reminiscent eulogy, of the earlier years of Aemilianus we can only speak briefly: so of his remarkable continence and purity (XXXII. 11), in contrast with the dissoluteness of the young noblemen of Rome, the sudden decadence of the morals of whom (which corroborates all the bitter charges of Cato) is set forth by Polybius with awful detail (XXXII. 11, 3-7). In about five years (after this year, 167) Scipio made his reputation for good order and sobriety of moral conduct an all-pervading one. Polybius explains it thus: The great wealth coming to Rome in consequence of Pydna and of the undisputed world-control consequent upon it had an altogether evil influence upon the young aristocrats of Rome, while young Aemilianus stood fairly alone in keeping himself immune. Nor is the Stoic Polybius mealy-mouthed about these evils. Here arises another most insistent query: Did Polybius write this rare and exquisite eulogy of a truly great man—his protector and intimate friend—*before* or *after* 129 B. C., date of the mysterious and never explained death of Aemilianus? We may well ponder the phrase, *καλόν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐποίησεν*, XXXII. 14, 1. *Σωφροσύνη* and *καλοκάγαθία* were the life-long ideals of Scipio Aemilianus; to use modern terms, he was a gentleman of culture, high morals and scrupulously clean life.⁴⁸

Now all this was an episode in the Polybian annalistic structure and Polybius said so in closing it (XXXII. 16). As the

⁴⁷ Polybius uses the word *συμπεριφορά* three times in the narration of this (to him unforgettable) episode.

⁴⁸ We see why Cicero idealized him so constantly. See Orelli's *Onomasticon*. Also we begin to understand why Plutarch abstained from including the friend of Polybius, one of the greatest Romans of all time, in his gallery of Roman worthies. Polybius had anticipated him. For Heitland's estimate of Aemilianus, see p. 714.

latter after all measured Aemilianus *relatively*, there is not so very much difference between Heitland 714 and Polybius.

As the years went by in their inexorable sequence, and the expatriated thousand Achaians were aging and passing away, the survivors made strong efforts to get permission from the Great Council to see their homes once more. Polybius in fact induced Aemilianus to intercede. Plutarch (Cato Maior 9) here transcribes from Polybius, who again seems to have filled his relation with the quasi-dramatic detail which crowded upon his reminiscent mood in these autobiographical sections. Of the original thousand exiles but three hundred or even fewer were then surviving. And it was Cato who assented to their home-going, and that too with that caustic pregnancy of speech, which produced so many winged sentences (XXXV. 6). "We in the Senate, he said, have more important things to do than debating about a parcel of old men of Greece, whether they shall be buried by our own corpse-bearers or those in Achaia." The Senate so voted. After an interval of a few days Polybius attempted to have the Senate add something, viz. that the restored Achaians should recover (*ἀναλάβοιεν*) the "*honors*" (*τὰς τιμὰς*) which they had before, and Polybius himself strove to gain Cato's approbation. But the old Roman declined, and quoted the Odyssey: "You, my dear Polybius, remind me of Homer: Would Odysseus have wished to return into the cave of Polyphemus, if he had forgotten his cap and belt? Certainly not."⁴⁹ To return: another great landmark in our historian's life occurred in 151 B. C., when Polybius was about 55, Aemilianus definitely but 34 as yet. The *ceterum censeo* of Cato and the destiny of Carthage were near fulfillment. Curiously the beginning of this, the last Punic war, touched the life of Polybius, even if slightly. It was early in the summer of 149 when there came an official letter from the Consul Manilius, that the Achaian League request Polybius to proceed to Lilybaeum, to serve the Roman government there. Polybius promptly set out, but when he arrived at Coreyra he found an order from the

⁴⁹ Compare also Pausanias VII. 10. Cato certainly knew his Homer. So he commended the outstanding strategic fitness of Scipio Aemilianus, even in 149 B. C., by paraphrasing a verse (495) of the tenth book of the Odyssey: οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιάϊ ἀίσσουσιν.

consuls countermanding the request, stating that the government of Carthage had already sent hostages, and that thus they considered the eventuality of war as disposed of. So Polybius sailed back to the Peloponnesus (XXXVII. 1^e). Now we learn also what some of the "honors" were that Polybius had referred to in his last audience with the old Cato. The statues of his father Lycortas were once more brought into light (XXXVII. 1^s), while those of the pro-Roman Callicrates were "put into darkness" (*εἰσφερομένων κατὰ τὸ σκότος*). As to his home-land, such as he found it after an absence of some 16 years, he has left us some grave and serious observations. His own remarks on that sure symptom of decadence, race-suicide,⁵⁰ are impressive. Sixteen to seventeen years of compulsory absence had of course whetted his ancestral and political interest. Apart from the greater loneliness which so long an absence unfailingly provides for the eventual home-comer, the greater vigour and soundness of Roman institutions furnished him a back-ground. "Do not, ye Greeks of my home-land, crowd to the altars with petitions and sacrifices, do not petition the Deity for prosperity or cessation of the evil of the hour (XXXVII. 4, 3-4); it is the decline of population, the actual desolation of towns which ails us, not wars, not epidemics. The cause is known of all men, and the correction (*διόρθωσις*) depends on us. What we actually do, is to give ourselves up to ostentatious display, covetousness, aversion to wedlock; or if married life is undertaken, we limit our offspring to one child, or at most, to two, that we may leave them wealthy, or bring them up while they lead a wanton life.⁵¹ Thus the ravages of war or disease become irreparable." Thus wrote the elderly Stoic in his own home-land.

Everyone knows how close he was to his devoted friend, then probably the most conspicuous figure in the Mediterranean World, in the last part of the siege, and at the extermination of Carthage. Viewing the huge conflagration from the acropolis of Carthage, the Byrsa, Polybius and his famous friend were rapt by the sight, but Polybius observed tears trickling down

⁵⁰ We use the familiar term of the late ex-President Roosevelt. Polybius uses terms like *ἀπαιδία*, *ὀλιγανθρωπία*, *ἀφορία*.

⁵¹ *σπαταλῶντας θρέψαι*.

the commander's cheeks (XXXIX. 3, 6)—one of the most honorable incidents of an honorable and noble life. "Seizing my hand, he said, it was indeed something fine, *but* somehow I dread and fear that some day somebody else will tell this same story of our own native city." He recalled the passing of empires—Assyria, Media, Persia, and not so long before, Macedonia—and instinctively there rose to the conqueror's lips the famous lines of Agamemnon (Il. IV. 164-5):

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

From Carthage Polybius hastened eastward to witness the end of free Greece (τὸ κοινὸν ἀτύχημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος). All his own admonitions had been thrown to the wind by Critolaus and the others in his old League. Polybius claims that he succeeded, in a measure, in appeasing the wrath of Mummius on the smoking ruins of Corinth. One still feels that he curbed himself with a great effort not to write more, or at least, not more severely. But his monitions did not remain unheeded. It was at his personal intercession that the statues of Philopoimen, already conveyed westward as far as Acarnania, were returned to their bases. He also refused to accept any portion of the confiscated estate of the wretched Diaios (XL. 9). All was settled by the spring of 145 B. C., when the Ten Commissioners of the Senate set sail for Italy.

It was the Epilogue of his great task: his pen, in these fragments of the End comparable to the Exodus of the chorus of the Greek Tragedy. A political service was laid upon him: to make his own home-folk understand the new order of being Roman subjects with a minimum of outward appearance of being provincials, feeding their political souls on the past. There must have been something substantial in the services of the historian and statesman.

The United States of the Peloponnesus were indeed at an end. The composition of his last book (40) must have been a hard task for the author, who, by my computation, was not far from eighty, when the shadows were indeed lengthening and there was hardly anything to cheer his soul; no children, no old

friends, no genuine freedom. The final summary by his own pen (XL. 14) marks the completion of a vast and comprehensive work, in which Rome assumed an ever greater figure, until all the *οἰκουμένη* was directly or indirectly attached to her chariot of empire.

III.

It seems to be a fairly well-settled tradition to conceive Polybius as the herald of Rome's greatness and soundness: greatness in all the principal spheres of war, of peace, of law and orderliness everywhere, so that her Empire and her Imperialism were a veritable blessing of the ages, and a great boon to mankind amid the bickerings and the fruitless friction rife everywhere in the Mediterranean world. Now, I am constitutionally unfriendly to sweeping generalizations, especially in historiography. I admit they are often alluring, convenient and much resorted to, to cover, like a decorated lid, a void in the patient and exhaustive study of sources.

I find the estimate, just stated, of the historian in many books and monographs; it has currency fairly everywhere. But it must not be accepted, except with several grains of salt. May I illustrate my dissent in a concrete way. It was a patriotic duty for every Roman historian, from Fabius Pictor to Livy to abuse Carthage. But Polybius allots very high praise indeed to Hamilcar (I. 62, 3). While the Romans as the citizens of one of the two great combatant commonwealths (in the First Punic war) had not his peer, the father of Hannibal excelled all the commanders in that long and bitter struggle, both in quick perception and in daring (I. 64, 6). Polybius condemns outright the spoliation, by Rome, of Sardinia and Corsica, when Rome was at Peace with Carthage, and the latter was almost exhausted in the internecine struggle with her own mercenaries. Polybius, I say, condemns this annexation as opposed to "every principle of justice."⁵² Again: what was the cause (the real cause) of the Hannibalian war? If one should say it was the siege and destruction of Saguntum, no objection could be made, but if one takes the forced cession of Sardinia into consideration,

⁵² *παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια* (III. 28, 2).

then Hannibal was justified in his invasion of Italy⁵³ (III. 30, 4).

He lauds Aratos of Sikyon (the perpetual leader of the Achaian League)—E. A. Freeman deals almost savagely with Aratos—over and over, but in surveying his life (he died in 213 B. C.), Polybius charges him with abject cowardice in the crises of pitched battles (IV. 8, 5).

As to monarchs, or rather autocrats, he says (VIII. 10, 7) "but I say that one ought neither falsely to abuse the sole-rulers, nor make them the theme of eulogy." Polybius was indeed a sincere Republican but not a Republican doctrinaire. He defended Hannibal against the charge of cruelty (IX. 24; 26), though he admitted his greed (IX. 25). He extols Hasdrubal (XI. 2), the brother of Hannibal, who perished, bravely fighting, in the battle of the Metaurus 207 B. C., as being as worthy as his father Barcas, and as one who always availed himself to the uttermost of the given resources and circumstances.⁵⁴ Again, at Zama, Hannibal did all he could, did all that a great and experienced strategist could do (XV. 15, 3). The pro-Roman Achaian politician Callicrates is handled without gloves (XXVI. 1, 1 sqq. and elsewhere). Polybius firmly approves the policy, for the League, of positive autonomy, whereas his father's bitter enemy, Callicrates, when at Rome as an envoy, utterly cast aside his instructions from home. In his eagerness to ingratiate himself with the Roman Senate he said that *Lycortas* and *followers* were old-fashioned and sought the favor of the common folk in Achaia; this was even in 179 B. C. Later, in 167, this same vile politician was the chief cause of the expatriation of the historian, as one of the 1000 autonomists.

⁵³ Take Livy's bitter abuse of Hannibal's personal character, XXI. 4, "has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum iusiurandum, nulla religio." There is not the slightest trace of this in the extant Polybius. Cf. also H. Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, I. 289.

⁵⁴ Let us not overlook the talks of Polybius IX. 25, 4 with Masinissa, in Africa—direct conversations, carried on by Polybius to gain first-hand information about Hannibal and the Hannibalian war, from one who had known the great captain personally. Masinissa died in 148 B. C.

Again, in 162 B. C., in the discussion of the general policy of the Senate as to Egypt, which actually aimed at its dismemberment or weakening (XXXI. 18, 6), the historian's own reflections, penned at best a full generation later, are blunt enough: "For there is now, with the Romans, an abundance of such counsels (we would say policy) by which, through the ignorance of their neighbors, they efficiently (*πραγματικῶς*) increase and organize their own rule, while at the same time granting favors to, and *seeming* to benefit, those who are wrong" (XXXI. 18, 7) (nothing idealizing here, certainly). Further, he tells how Rome, in every quarrel between Masinissa of Numidia and Carthage, invariably decided against Carthage, "not by the standard of justice, but because those who acted as judges—the Roman Senate—were convinced that such a decision was advantageous to themselves."⁵⁵ When he comes to the destruction of Carthage, he, like all true historians, is particularly concerned with the question of *motive*, in that policy of annihilation. (The excerpts preserved are XXXVII. 1^a—1^c.) The whole matter (as he wrote, about eighteen years later, say, in 128 B. C.) was controversial to a degree: "*Some*" (*ἔνιοι*) held that Rome had acted wisely and efficiently, in the interest of her own power; it was farseeing statesmanship to destroy this ancient and chronic incubus; *others*, clearly Greeks, doubted whether the hegemony (or Imperialism, *φιλαρχία*) at which Rome aimed, would endure. These critics cited the history of Athens and Sparta in this respect, intimating that Roman Imperialism would come to the same end; the Romans had indeed destroyed the dynasty of Macedon and completed their ambitious designs by destroying Carthage, although they had suffered nothing irreparable at the hands of that vassal state, which had consistently heeded every behest. *Still others* charged that in this matter Rome had for the first time abandoned her nobler tradition of open political dealing and adopted instead a novel policy of unscrupulous craftiness and insincere manipulation. A *fourth group* palliated that series of acts, while *still others*

⁵⁵ XXXII. 2, 6: ἀεὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλαττοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ τῷ δίκαιῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι τοὺς κρινόντας, συμφέρειν σφίσι τῇ τοιαύτην γνώμῃ.

elaborated careful definitions of ἀσέβημα (an impious act), παρασπόνδημα (a breach of treaty obligation) and ἀδίκημα (an act of wrongdoing), and in the end gave Rome a verdict of not guilty: Carthage, they claimed, while being explicitly under a Roman protectorate, had not been absolutely obedient to her masters. As for our historian himself, he seems to have withheld any personal verdict of his own, which certainly was discreet.

IV

For whom, primarily, did the Megalopolitan write these 40 books? Having returned to his birthplace, sometime in 151, he cannot have accomplished much, because he soon joined Aemilius (even before the latter assumed the chief command) in the operations near and before Carthage. Digressive as he is—the very antithesis of Thucydides in this respect—I do not believe he would or could do more, at the utmost, than two books per annum. His health was exceptionally robust. Sometimes, indeed, we seem to be almost positive that he addressed the Greek world more particularly, as when in the Sixth Book he wrote the never excelled study of Roman institutions, both at home and in her system of war. The Greek world was then a vast one, as I suggested at the beginning, whereas Latin speech as yet was fairly confined to central Italy alone. Many little details in our historian were meant for Greek readers, as e. g. when he refers to the panic from Gallic invasions which brought consternation “to the Greeks, not only in ancient times, *but also oftentimes in our own day*” (καθ’ ἡμᾶς, II. 35, 9-10). He translates the proper noun *Maximus* into Greek, and defines the power of a *dictator* in the Roman system (III. 87, 6-7). The bitter death of Dikaiarchos was a moral satisfaction for all the Grecian world (XVIII. 54, 7). He explains what a *supplicatio* in Rome really was (ἐλυνίας ἄγειν XXI. 1, 2), or the *Collegium Saliorum* (XXI. 10, 11-12) (this in connection with the delay of the two Scipios on the Hellespont in 190 B. C., in the war with Antiochus—copied by Livy 37, 33, of course *without* the antiquarian note).

Again, in describing the wide sympathy with Macedon in all the Grecian world, at the beginning of the *Bellum Persicum* 171 B. C. he calls this disposition (διάθεσις) something deeply imbedded in human nature (τὰ φύσει παρεπόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

XVII. 8^c, 4). So too he accommodates himself to the Greek habits of his time by operating with Olympiads, consuls however being steadily introduced more and more. He defines the values, in Greek coinage, of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *as* (Semis, ἡμισσάριον) II. 15, 6. He uses landmarks of Greek History for chronological determinations, such as the peace of Antalkidas (387 B. C.), Aigospotamoi, Leuktra (I. 6, 1-2); and cites the Roman habit of flagellation preceding beheading (I. 7, 12). *τράνς* means *πέραν* (II. 15, 9). Clusium is three days' march from Rome (II. 25, 2). The topography of Cales in Campania is given at III. 101, 3. The geography of the Pyrenees and Rhone is stated at III. 37, 8-9. The site of Ariminum is described III. 61, 11. He translates the term *extraordinarii* ὁ μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐπιλέκτους δηλοῖ (VI. 26, 6); *praetorium*, στρατήγιον (VI. 31, 1). He says also that his Greek readers had no clear conception of the political organization of Rome or Carthage (I. 3, 8). On the other hand, and distinctly for Roman readers, he gives, with great detail, the site and antiquities of Iasos in Rhodes (XVI. 12, 1 sqq.); he dwells on Sparta, in a similar manner (V. 22, 1 sqq.). I have shown before, however, that he counted chiefly on Roman readers in the time to come, and that they would (after the author's death) be the judges of his veracity (XXXII. 8, 8).

V.

We now may examine or approach Polybius as a political thinker. I do not think we could fairly call him a *doctrinaire*.⁵⁰ His vision is far too objective for that. He has, however, more than a tinge of the didactic trend of soul, and so, like most elderly or old men, he likes to drive home some of his deepest convictions by iteration, the more so as he stresses, over and over again, his own direct vision or witnessing of great events (he was an αὐτόπτης). The modern classicist is not rarely reminded of Aeneas at Dido's banquet (Aen. II. 5 sqq.):

quaeque ipse miserrima vidi,
et quorum pars magna fui.

⁵⁰ A doctrinaire cares for such facts only which he can use for his own thesis, ignoring or denying those which run counter to his system or theory.

Polybius did indeed witness, and have some rôle in, the utter disintegration and humiliation of the Hellenic world, his own world; he too became an exile, and that too without any hope whatever of seeing any restoration of the old order. His chief aim in all his vast task⁵⁷ was this: to understand the basic status of all the several states after they had passed under the hegemony of Rome (Pydna and that crisis). Then came the new "unsettlement and disturbance" (in the pacification of the world, he means). He refers to the rising of Spanish tribes, Vaccaei (Pallantia) and Celtiberi (152 B. C. and following); the trouble with the Lusitanians; and the continual feuds between Masinissa and Carthage (particularly from 157 down). In short, if the "Roman Peace" in the Mediterranean had remained permanent and undisturbed, Polybius would have concluded there. Hence the new Preface. And when he penned that Preface he was uncertain whether he would carry out his task, viz. to the end of Greek Freedom (146 B. C.). But (III. 5, 8) should "something human happen to him before that, then other hands would be found to bring the work to completion." And, writing then, I believe, at Megalopolis, he cannot, even after his return, refer to that sore spot in his life-story, his exile, long concluded, without bitter reference to the cause thereof, as *slander* (*διαβολή* III. 5, 4), at the same time summing up the entire Third Punic War, that is, the treacherous shifting of Roman policy as to the ill-fated state. What was the goal of the whole work? "The consummation of the misfortune of Greece,"⁵⁸ a catastrophe in some respects even sadder than that of Carthage; for Carthage was dead and past, whereas the Greeks (after the destruction of Corinth), "gazing upon their own misfortunes, made their own misery something to be handed down to their children's children." Again and again he refers to his (future) *readers*⁵⁹ and the beneficial lessons to be gained by them. He is well aware that his manner is not entertaining or diverting; that it is too uniform or monotonous

⁵⁷ He calls it *τελεσιούργημα*, III. 4, 12; a word not recurring in the last Stephanus.

⁵⁸ *τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας* (XXXVIII. 1^a, 1).

⁵⁹ He uses the terms *φιλήκοοι*, *οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες*, *οἱ ἀκούοντες*, *οἱ προσέχοντες*, *οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες*, *οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες*, *οἱ ἀκροαταί*.

(μονοειδές) for wider popularity; it has something severe (αὐστηρόν) and is adapted to one class of readers only (IX. 1, 2).

The careful study of leading men is much more important than prolixity in relating the foundation legends of colonies.⁶⁰ This dwelling on characters, however, should always be given in connection with the actual course of events.⁶¹ And while involving both praise and blame, history must not be assimilated to the oratory of display (X. 21, 8). Whenever his matter compels him to forego his regular, i. e. annalistic, manner—his synchronistic method—he makes explanations (XIV. 12). As a rule, he surveys the character of public men when recording their death. Such reviews e. g. are given of Attalus of Pergamum, † 197 B. C. (XVIII. 41); Philopoimen is drawn in contrast with his political adversary Aristainos (XXV. 9). In addition to the fragments of Polybius' estimate of Hannibal's character referred to above, we have the precious notice that, in all the seventeen years of his supreme command, none of his troops—many of them of alien races—ever plotted against him (XXIV. 9, 5). The desperate struggle, the last war with Macedonia, reminds Polybius of a pair of boxers, with the spectators divided in their backing of the one and the other (XXVII. 8^a sq.). Some of his character drawings, of course, deal with figures now of slighter historical importance, such as Charops the Epirote, † 157 B. C. (XXXII. 21). May I return once more to the point where the final catastrophe of Greece comes to be his sad and final theme, the end of such freedom as was left in Hellas (XXXVIII. 1^a). Something like an uncommon emotion seems to well up in the soul of the old soldier and man of affairs—a Greek after all. "You must not wonder if, departing from the character of historical narrative, we appear to speak about it"—the collapse of Greece—"in a more demonstrative and impassioned manner than is our wont."⁶² And some persons perhaps will say⁶³ I should have palliated the misdeemeanors of the Greeks. I know my devotion to the truth will

⁶⁰ Ephorus? Timaeus? X. 21, 3 sqq.

⁶¹ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων (XXXVIII. 1^a, 4).

⁶² ἐπιδεικτικωτέραν καὶ φιλοτιμοτέραν . . . τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν (XXXVIII. 1^a).

⁶³ Greeks, of course.

bring me into collision (*προσκοπήν*) with some of my own countrymen, but—Truth is greater than all such matters. My work is not a production of mere occasion,⁶⁴ a performance for the moment. My readers must respect my general aim (*τὴν τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν*). I have done my uttermost to soften the wrath of Rome (after the fall of Corinth) in her settlement of the affairs of my home-land.”⁶⁵

He regrets being bound by his annalistic principle of procedure; so that he must leave the destruction of Carthage half-told and then shift eastward to the Peloponnesus, to examine the causes of the Achaian War, whereas his readers here would prefer continuity to the point of consummation.

Has Polybius a philosophy of history? Should we not hesitate to inject modern ideas into his work and purpose? It would not advance us very much to recount how very often he refers to that supreme power of last appeal, Fortune. It is indeed, to him too, a mysterious and inscrutable power, *Τύχη*, the inscrutable play of catastrophes (the term *περιπέτεια* occurs scores of times) and reversals of Fortune. He himself is puzzled. Fortune often in a stern way strides along with heavy tread, seeming to deal out, sometimes, a kind of balancing compensation (XX. 7, 2). She seemed to aim at imposing penalty on Philip III of Macedon XXIV. 8, 2. Demetrius of Phaleron wrote a beautiful and suggestive monograph on *Τύχη*: how easily great power and ancient dynasties often are destroyed (XXIX. 6^o sqq.); a mere fifty years before *his* writing occurred that overwhelming confirmation, when through the phenomenal rise of Macedon the world power of Persia was fairly cast into oblivion. No prophet of such an outcome would have been believed in advance. And what the Athenian wrote about Persia,

⁶⁴ It may be an intrusive reminiscence of that famous passage in Thucydides I. 22, which was then, and for that matter is still, pregnant with the fundamental postulates of genuine historiography. No less than his great predecessor could Polybius say: *κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ξύγκειται*. And Polybius goes on: *τὴν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις παράδοσιν ἀμυγῇ παντὸς (ψευδοῦς Cobet) ἀπολείπεσθαι χάριν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τέρπεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας* (loc. cit. 1^d, 5). This seems to be a veritable paraphrase of Thucydides.

⁶⁵ Paraphrase and abridgment of XXXVIII. 1^a.

Polybius, being a witness of the event (αὐτόπτης), has written about Macedon, some 150 years having elapsed between the time of Demetrius of Phaleron and his own.

In another passage (XV. 34) Polybius is opposed to vain harping on "Fortune."⁶⁶ Much more is a man's personal *ingenium* the main factor in his career, as in the case of Agathocles the potter-autocrat of Syracuse (l. c.) or Eumenes of Pergamum (XXXII. 23, 4).

As he approached the conclusion of his long task (XL. 13, 2) we do indeed seem to hear echoes of Aeschylus and Herodotus, with just an autobiographical touch of the last stage of a long life: "Therefore also we offer up our prayers to all the gods that the remnant of my life may endure *in* these themes and *on* these themes, observing how efficient is Fortune to work her envy on human beings and that her strength is revealed most of all in that specific sphere in which one may seem most to be called happy and to succeed in life." It is all like a chorus of Attic Tragedy.

But in his deeper and more personal analysis there is something else which figures much larger in his conception of the history of a given state, a factor which he really ranks as the most basic of all. What do I mean? It is the *πολίτευμα*,⁶⁷ the entire body of institutions, which to his mind, determines the superiority, or the reverse, of one commonwealth, as compared with another, such as Rome and Carthage,⁶⁸ the two bitter rivals of the Mediterranean world. From the very inception of his

⁶⁶ *περιπέτεια* (familiar to us from Aristotle's employment of the term) is very frequent in Polybius: e. g., I. 1, 2; 13, 11; 37, 3; 38, 1; 59, 1; III. 97, 8; V. 74, 3; and *passim*; of *τύχη* I append I. 4, 1; 7, 4; 35, 2; 58, 1; 87, 7; II. 2, 10; 4, 3; 7, 3; 20, 7; 66, 4; III. 20, 4; IV. 81, 5; XI. 2, 10; XV. 6, 8; XX. 7, 2; XXI. 13, 8; XXIX. 11, 12; and many others. "Do not always say *τύχη*! but look rather for the cause" (II. 38, 5).

⁶⁷ Polybius, like Aristotle, uses both *πολίτευμα* and *πολιτεία* quite freely, still there is a difference, I think; the former being more concrete and the latter more abstract. A federal organization or relation is sometimes expressed by *συμπολιτεία*.

⁶⁸ Cf. I. 64, 2: ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἐν παρέργῳ ῥητέον οὔτε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν (his readers, we should say) ἀργῶς προσεκτέον.

great task he had included a careful study and evaluation of institutions and to this study of the institutions the whole of Book VI was devoted. Every state must be studied as an organic whole, comparable to a living being (I. 4, 8). Of this Sixth book more than one-half has been preserved by the excerptors. He was thoroughly familiar with the political writings of Aristotle and Plato, but he always refers to these thinkers as one who is a thinker himself, and by no means a mere transcriber. He felt himself to be something these had not been: a man of action (*πραγματικὸς ἀνὴρ*) as he assuredly was; he felt, not unjustly, a positive superiority over them. Much more did he nurse this feeling over against his predecessor whose work he continued, *Timaeus* of Tauromenium, who, an exile from Sicily, spent some 50 years at Athens, a kind of book-worm as Polybius makes him out. Let us say at once that Aristotle's *δῆμος* does not fit quite well with the Roman *commons* of Polybius' observation. Aristotle called his best state simply *πολιτεία* (*par excellence*). Indirectly Polybius rejects (VI. 4, 5) Aristotle's conception of *δημοκρατία*, which term Polybius uses for the third of the best political forms, not as a *παρέκβασις*, a degenerate form. But Polybius goes further: he challenges the great Peripatetic outright. Polybius declines to accept Aristotle's "best government" VI. 3, 7. No, the best government or state was that one in which all the three types were fused, or organically welded together.⁶⁹ Now Rome was such a State: Consuls, Senate, Populus and Plebs represent, respectively, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, to put it briefly. (The growth and ascent as well as the decline and decay of states are subject simply to the *Law of Nature*.) Rome, then, has Kings, Nobles, Commons, in felicitous interdependence and interaction, and Polybius gives a historical survey. With all the wonderful erudition of Theodor Mommsen in his *Staatsrecht*, no classicist can dispense himself from a first-hand study of Polybius VI, I dare say. The

⁶⁹ I shall not enter upon any controversy with the British scholar J. B. Bury of Cambridge: *The Ancient Greek Historians*, Harvard Lectures 1908. His chapter on Polybius is lighted up with sweeping and sometimes impressively epigrammatic dicta, which I sometimes admire, but also constitutionally distrust.

balancing, too, of these elements is admirably brought forward, and the fitting together (*ἀρμογή*) of the three elements enables Rome to withstand any emergency of storm and stress. We must not dwell here on his comparative judgments of Sparta, Crete, or Carthage (cc. 43 sqq.), these being merely a foil for Rome, his main theme. He was thoroughly familiar with predecessors in this field, such as Aristotle, Plato (as we saw), as well as Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes. We may safely say, that no Greek historian whatever (not even Thucydides) so extraordinarily combined keen theoretical study of statehood with a very large and wide experience in affairs as the son of Lycortas, expatriated so long a time as he was. The acme of Rome he seems to delineate for us in his famous VI; but he lived also to see the beginning, at least, of the democratic revolution—a beginning effected by a brother-in-law of Scipio Aemilianus 133 B. C.⁷⁰

VI

Polybius is quite as much a judge of historiography *per se* as he is a keen critic and censor of actual historians. Thucydides, indeed, says (I. 20) most admirably: "for men accept from one another the oral tradition of the past events, even if it concern their own land, in the same manner, without examination." But the great Attic historian never mentions Herodotus by name, and this reticence of Thucydides becomes doubly impressive by the contrast. Polybius proceeds in precisely the opposite way. As to Carthage: Philinus is a pleader, through

⁷⁰ Now the Stoic Polybius held, with other doctrines of his sect, the theory (as suggested already) that the change of political forms was intrinsically ordained by "Nature." (The whole Book VI is a digression, *ἐκτροπή*.) There is a regular cycle (cf. VI. 9, 10; *αὕτη πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις, αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας*.) As for Cicero, *de Republica* II. 45, it is palpable how closely he read the Greek thinker, striving to Latinize *ἀνακύκλωσις*: "Hic ille iam vertetur orbis cuius naturalem motum atque circuitum a primo discite atque cognoscite." And 57: "id quod fieri Natura rerum (*φύσις*) ipsa cogebat." The three degenerate forms are given by Cicero (II. 65) and the normal forms from which they came, and the Polybian thesis: "id praestare singulis quod ex tribus primis esset modice temperatum."

thick and thin, for Carthage; Fabius Pictor equally one-sided for Rome (I. 14, 3 sqq.). Neither recognizes any *altera pars*. But—our historian urges—while a patriot should or may love or hate to the full, with his own home-land, a real historian has duties that rise higher. Truth indeed is in history what the eye is to the life of a living being. Why then does Polybius belabor the hapless Timaeus so incessantly—so fiercely, we may say—setting aside a great part of his Book XII for that work? If one consults one's Bursian, one finds that this particular *crux* has been much discussed (e. g., in vols. 38 and 58). Now the Sicilian exile at Athens died about 256 B. C., a full half-century before Polybius was even born. Thesis and antithesis, with the fragments of Timaeus arranged in Mueller, Vol. I, are somewhat elusive. I venture, amid the clamor of dissident and dissonant voices, to make a suggestion: Timaeus practiced censure and criticism of others so bitterly that the Athenians, among whom he lived and died, with a residence of some half-century, punning on his name, called him *Ἐπιτίμαιος*, the Faultfinder; also they nicknamed him *the Oldwoman Ragpicker* (Γρασοσυλλέκτρια, cf. Suidas, s. v. Timaeus. One might almost say that Timaeus served the Megalopolitan to illustrate or exemplify "*quomodo non conscribenda sit historia*." Clearly it was not ordinary rancour, let alone jealousy, which stirred Polybius against the work of the Sicilian. We cannot lightly pass over a matter, nay a body of principles, so weighty to this great historian that he devoted a whole book to it. Now Timaeus penned, *inter alia meliora*, a great number of absurdities, e. g., in the domain of geography, whereas Polybius devoted a whole book (XXXIV) to that domain, and did not, on occasion, shrink from examining statements of the great Eratosthenes himself with critical purpose.⁷¹ I must not incorporate in this study any syllabus of what is left of Book XII, but beg my readers to read for themselves. Timaeus even undertook to sit in judgment on Aristotle's *Πολιτεῖαι*, as on the constitution of Lokroi in Magna Graecia (XII. 5). In such matters Timaeus was fairly *blinded* by his own partisan spirit (*ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονικίας ἐπισκοτούμενος*, XII. 7, 1).

⁷¹ Cf. the scrupulous exactness with which Polybius describes some of the fauna of Corsica.

It was a matter of gigantic assurance in the particular premises. But let us turn from this polemic to finer things. Truth (XII. 12) is like a (carpenter's or mason's) rule; it is immaterial, says Polybius, how broad or how long it is, provided it be *straight*: so a work of history, provided it be *true*, may bear many blemishes otherwise as to style or construction. An *error* may creep in, through ignorance; it is pardonable, but not so that *falsehood* which is bred by design (XII. 12^a).

In speaking of Demochares, nephew of Demosthenes, in the last struggle with Macedon, Timaeus was grossly and inexcusably ignorant of the official records of Athens (XII. 13-14). Furthermore Polybius, a tactician of lifelong devotion to that branch, subjects to a most damaging and searching critique the account of the battle of Issos as given by Kallisthenes (historian and chronicler in ordinary of Alexander's achievements); and even a non-technical writer, like the present one, can readily see how pertinent are the points made by the quondam *hipparchos* of the Achaian League, and the strictures on Kallisthenes in part had to do with the evolutions of cavalry; but not less impressive is the discussion of the phalanx of that battle (XII. 19 sqq.)—another *ἀλόγημα* of Aristotle's nephew. In one word, Kallisthenes had no practical experience, and he could not discriminate between what was intrinsically possible and what was impossible. But enough of this, though it was proper to bring out the very extraordinary horizon of the cultural, technical, and historical vision of this man.

We must now ask ourselves: What does he mean by his incessant urging of the *pragmatical* (as the virtue *par excellence*), and of "Pragmatic Historiography"?⁷² I have met endless (and pointless) explanations of these terms. He means: *action, the concrete factors of actual affairs, the actual motives* and every real factor which explains things; no wonderful stories to dazzle or entertain the reader, no mythical digressions, *no padding* (which he really means by τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον, XV. 34, 1), no mere verbiage, which misses the connective and dominant element in the movement of events. He rates highly also psycho-

⁷² "Das Wesen der pragmatischen Historie, wie wir sie mit einem missverstandenen Ausdruck zu nennen pflegen," Wachsmuth, p. 643.

logical factors, such as universal pity. ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἔλεος (commiseration of the neutrals) οὐ μικρὸν δῶρόν ἐστι τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀκληροῦσιν (XXXVIII. 1^c 1). Actual action, actual affairs, not rhetoric or efforts at fine writing, contain the *nexus rerum*. In a word, that historian is the best one who has been himself deeply engaged in *affairs*, has been a *man of affairs*.⁷³ The present writer is neither a strategical nor a tactical expert, and therefore incompetent to value properly the frequent and exact passages on such matters as given by the former hipparchos of the Achaian League; as e. g., how Regulus lost his campaign in Africa (I. 33-34); how the Romans decisively defeated the invading Gauls at Telamon (225 B. C.) II. 27 sqq.; the intrinsic defects of the Keltic sword (II. 32); the great importance of knowing the character and temperament of the opposing commanders (III. 81); details of tactics at Cannae (III. 114 sqq.); on scaling ladders (V. 98, 1-3); the military system of Rome (VI. 19 sqq.); the eminence of Epaminondas as a strategist, compared with Hannibal's vain effort to raise the siege of Capua (IX. 8); use of fire signals (X. 43); experience or inexperience of commanders as the decisive factor in campaigns (XI. 14, 2); the unique issues at Zama (XV. 9); technical critique of a battle-report by a contemporary historian, Zeno of Rhodes (XVI. 16 sqq.), who was interested chiefly in working up a fine style; the right moment for military action, *καιρός* (XXVII. 18, 1); the superior military endurance and perseverance of certain tribes in Spain compared with Greeks and Asiatics (XXXV. 1). At the fall of Carthage, Scipio Aemilianus declined a military suggestion of his older friend as *ridiculous* (γελοῖον); Polybius does not omit telling of his own discomfiture there (XXXIX. 2, 17). These tactical comments of Polybius are always attached to actual events, such as Zama, Cannae, Kynoskephalai, Pydna,⁷⁴ never given abstractly.

⁷³ He mentions Thucydides but once (VIII. 13, 3), saying that Theopompos proposed to begin where Thucydides left off. On *πραγματικὴ ἱστορία*, see I. 2, 8; XII. 25^e, 1. We note the phrase *νυνεχῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς*, I. 62, 5; II. 13, 1; *πραγματικῶς ἕκαστα χειρίζων*, II. 43, 9; cf. III. 14, 5; XXXIX. 3, 6. *οἱ πραγματικοί* are men of action, XII. 28, 3.

⁷⁴ He wishes to serve those who sought incentive: *ἔθεν οὐκ ἐντίκτουςιν ἀληθινοὺς ζήλους οἱ μὴ δι' αὐτῶν πεπορευμένοι τῶν πραγμάτων*—as he had, we

The mere registering of *facts* or events, such as battles, sieges, enslavements of towns, is futile, unless the *causes* are understood; futile, too, the attempt to entertain the reader with irrelevant matter (myths, genealogies, foundations, as we have already noted). Polybius is hostile to the practice of *amplification*, *αἰχμα* (XV. 36, 1). When the historian is not a contemporary witness, let him study the speeches of envoys and those who govern, official matter, letters, and particularly treaties. Scholars have always admired Polybius' scrupulous effort to present in Greek the various treaties between Rome and Carthage (III. 22, sqq.), the first of which (509 B. C.) presented great difficulties on account of the archaic Latin in which it was composed. But the *causes of wars* are really the foremost concern of the historian. Men generally confound three things: (1) the real cause, (2) the occasion or pretext (*πρόφασις*), (3) the actual beginning or initial act. But the entire passage is well worth transcribing: "But I say that the most dominant thing (*κυριώτατον*) for both authors and readers is to understand the causes from which in each case there are produced or grow the consequences of affairs; actually these things are confounded in most of the historians because they do not firmly grasp the point (*κρατεῖν*, master it) as to the difference between *pretext* and *cause*, and again between the *beginning* of war and the *pretext* (XXII. 19^a, 5). No teacher can be more insistent, or didactically persevering, than Polybius generally is. Here he dealt with what led to the extinction of the dynasty of Macedon, a well-known theme of writers in his own day. *Secret conferences* or *secret diplomatic interchanges* are indeed difficult to deal with, as the dealings between Perseus and Eumenes (XXIX. 1^b). But the historian must not pass them over in silence through indolence or timidity. The incisive or decisive importance of a single personality for good or ill, in any given state, is urged (XXXII. 20^a).

Very weighty also is *geography* and *chorography*,⁷⁵ to which

understand, XII. 25^b, 4). Ephorus was not competent to elucidate Leuctra or Mantinea; he had no experience in such events.

⁷⁵ Polybius is cited by Strabo some 40 times, and Strabo endeavors to deal as critically with Polybius as Polybius did with Eratosthenes.

our historian devoted one entire book, XXXIV, and he seems to have been as critical and exacting in dealing with the experts in this field as he was with the historians proper. We must be concise here. Of course Polybius was most insistent in regions in which he had himself travelled, e. g. the Alps, whose heights he compared with those of Greek peaks: Olympus, Pelion, Ossa, Rhodopē. He tells of four Alpine passes, the three main lakes of upper Italy, volcanoes, distances, the via Egnatia from Apollonia into Macedon, the distance from Cape Malea to the Danube, Alexandria⁷⁶ and its motley population (of which he speaks with keen displeasure). Pliny the elder used book XXXIV freely; e. g. for the distance from Gibraltar to the sea of Azov. And the Roman polyhistor even brackets Polybius with the great Eratosthenes himself: "Polybius et Eratosthenes, diligentissimi existimati" (V. 6, 6). Pliny also tells us (V. 1, 9) that our "*annalium conditor*," while Aemilianus directed the siege of Carthage, received from him a fleet to "*investigate that part of the orbis*," as far as the mouth of the Anas. Polybius defined the three continents (III. 36, sqq.); the bulk of Europe lay (he said) north of a line drawn from the river Tanais (Don) to Narbo in Gaul. He often refuses to accept Eratosthenes. Everywhere in his general work he stops to give a more accurate definition of geographical data: so of Ariminum, the Rhone, Byzantium, Actium, Psophis in Arcadia, the Pontus, Kephallenia, Sparta, Persia and Parthia, Akragas, the Oxus river, Abydos and Sestos on the Hellespont; of the term *Magna Graecia* II. 39, 1. One slip I have discovered: he confounds the name Jerusalem with the Temple itself (XVI. 39, 4, preserved by Josephus, *Antiqq.*, XII. 3, 3).

⁷⁶ He visited that great city in 143 with Scipio Aemilianus.

VII

What of the *personality* of Polybius? Much, of course, has been told already, and, besides this, no ancient historian preserved to us has so fully and so deliberately woven his own life-story into his great work. A few dicta are still left by which we may come a little closer to his particular *ἦθος* or *ingenium*. I have gathered together, with some care, his range of quotation and retrospect, matters or passages which might have come to him, or occurred to him, *currente calamo*, instinctively or automatically, as they readily would occur to an elderly man who had passed through a long life, large in sorrow, trials and vicissitudes both personal and political. I must be content to enumerate them as I find them in my own analytical index; Euripides; Homer of course far more than any other poet; mostly in moralizing moods of the author; "the poets call the Padus 'Eridanos'" (II. 16, 6); Hesiod, Herakleitos, Epicharmus (unnamed), Demetrius of Phaleron, Simonides (cf. Plato Protagoras 339 a).^{76a} We may say that Polybius was a man of very deep and wide culture. And, moreover, he is fond of moralizing digression. Curt Wachsmuth dislikes this. I keenly appreciate this trait, for I decline to accept any ready or ready-made mold for making an estimate of greater personalities. After all, these moralizing digressions, to my mind, are the most suggestive and attractive element in his character, even now. Sadness, deep sadness, coupled with stern sobriety of tone, permeates many of these comments upon the events of his long story. We must not forget that he wrote almost all his forty books after the catastrophe of Hellenic Freedom (146) (τὸ κοινὸν ἀτύχημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος; cf. also τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας, XXXVIII. 1^a). The wonderful hospitality, friendship, nay, intimacy and affection of Aemilianus could not console him for that. Of course sadness must have been the prevailing mood. However, let us make some record at least of this trait of moralizing.⁷⁷

^{76a} [See also Carl Wunderer, *Citate und geflügelte Worte bei Polybios*, Leipzig, 1901.—C. W. E. M.]

⁷⁷ Concrete examples have an inductive value, and are really more valuable than generalizations, brilliant or otherwise.

Wise counsellors will always deal much with the future and not with the present alone (I. 72, 7). One must persevere in one's resolutions (III. 112, 5). One and the same person may possess keen perception and still be sluggish in execution (IV. 8, 7). Chronic and continuous injustice will obtain pardon more readily than rare and puzzling acts of wickedness (IV. 16, 3). A peace coupled with justice and decency is a most fair and profitable possession, whereas one of the opposite kind is most shameful and harmful (IV. 31, 8). A wise victor will treat the defeated with moderation (V. 9, 9). Very short-lived emergencies (as a rule) raise men on high, and again humble them (V. 26, 12). Of all living beings, man is most easily fooled, while seeming to be the most cunning (V. 75, 2). A highly rated government, highly so rated by mere tradition (Plato), is really condemned by the moral worthlessness of its actual or present citizens. This is the case with Crete (VI. 47, 4).⁷⁸ You must not deliver yourself into the power of your foe without careful examination (*ἀσκέπτως*, VIII. 1 sqq.). Most men are unable to hold their tongue (VIII. 38). Prospect of gain is the motive for action in the case of most men (X. 17, 1 sqq.). Hope is the *sine qua non* which commanders must keep alive in the hearts of a given body of troops, hope, namely, that ultimate benefits will be equally allotted to *all* (X. 17, 5).—The noble continence of the elder Scipio is related, when that commander, in Spain, withstood an uncommon temptation (X. 19, 3 sqq.).—A man may obtain all noble ends, provided he brings to bear a body of settled habits (*ἔξις*, X. 47, 11). Most men imitate the unessential traits of the successful (*τὰ πάρεργα*) without imitating their real achievements (XI. 8, 7). Greed is like dropsy, insatiable for more, and without rest (XIII. 2, 2). Non-rational animals learn more from the mishaps of their own kind than men do when witnessing the disasters of states (XV. 21, 2 sqq.). On treason and traitors: what really constitutes them (XVIII. 13). Most good men gain their views not from

⁷⁸ His condemnation is severe; he calls them crafty and irresponsible. Cf. also IV. 8, 11; VI. 46, 2 and the proverb *πρὸς Κρήτα Κρητίζειν* (fight the devil with fire) (VIII. 21, 5). Of the *Aetolians*, whether individually or collectively, I do not remember *one* kindly or appreciative note in the extant Polybius.

rational motives but from *happenings* (XXI. 5, 6). One of the finest and truest observations is this: Moral principle (τὸ καλόν) and advantage (τὸ συμφέρον) are rarely wont to harmonize (συντρέχειν), and few are the men who are able to combine them and fit them together (XXI. 17, 1—with elaborate argumentation for this thesis appended). On censuring others instead of exerting oneself to the utmost (XXVIII. 9^a). The author moralizes on the passion for amassing treasure, while such men are blind to the stern facts of a given situation (XXIX. 15). A definition of what it is to be unfortunate (XXXVIII. 1^c, 5). Finally the *Leitmotiv* of Aeschylus and Herodotus, near the end of the whole work: "You must never say or do anything overweening, since you are but human."⁷⁹

But in the very core and kernel of the soul of Polybius there was something greater, nobler and more virile than the utilitarian ethics of most men. Polybius was a Stoic. And we have reason for believing that his erstwhile pupil Aemilianus, in time, found in this matter a stronger bond of deep friendship than in the greater general culture of the Greek. Panaetius too, the eminent Stoic of Rhodes, seems to have been an inmate of Scipio's residence in Rome: how academic peace was maintained we know not. Both Greeks accompanied their host to Alexandria in 143 B. C.⁸⁰ As to Polybius we cannot do much more in concluding this study than merely touch upon and gather together a number of passages, always written merely *en passant*, as of a *Weltanschauung* quite familiar to his readers, but held by our author as something fundamental, sacred, decisive and absolute. Now "*Nature*" (φύσις) is the very core and kernel of Stoicism, as they held it and meant it, and *Reason* the strict accommodation to this quasi-divine and absolute power. I may as well write here a list of terms and technical words, gathered by me, which mark the sect quite definitely, and which require no exegesis for anyone familiar with that school: φύσις, κατὰ φύσιν, συγκατάθεσις, δυνάμεις αἰρεταὶ καὶ φευκταί, τὸ καθῆκον (*Officium* in Cicero's version), καθήκειν, πρόνοια, κοινὴ ἔννοια, φαντασία

⁷⁹ XXXIX. 3, 3: δεῖ μηδέποτε λμ ἐγεινῆδὲ πράττειν μηδὲν ὑπερήφανο ἀνθρώπου δυντα.

⁸⁰ See references in Orelli's *Onomasticon*, s. v.

as opposed to ἀλήθεια, τὰ καταληπτά, τὰ ἀκατάληπτα (XII. 26^c, 2) κοινωνικῶς (altruistically), ὁ κοινὸς νοῦς (sensus communis), ἡ σύνεσις (= συνείδησις) (conscience); ἡ τοῦ δικαίου φύσις (cf. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu den philosophischen Schriften des Cicero* II. 2, pp. 841 sqq.).⁸¹ Polybius stresses the necessity of the domination of Nature (IV. 20 sqq.). The moral conceptions are primitive and absolute⁸² (cf. also IV. 74, 3; VI. 6, 12; 7, 1, sqq.). The cycle of governmental forms (to which we have adverted before) is a necessity of "nature" (VI. 9, 10). The acceptance or rejection of concepts (VI. 11^a, 10). I append one of the strongest statements of his Stoic *credo*: "And it is true what we have often said, that it is not possible to comprehend or to gain a general vision through the soul, of what is the noblest spectacle of existence, I mean the administration of the Universe" (IX. 21, 14). The particularist historians cannot grasp it.

We find also a bitter bit of polemic against the Academy at Athens of his own time, viz. that of Carneades⁸³ (XII. 26^c-26^d). All this in his censure of his predecessor Timaeus, in which connection also he quotes Heraclitus (§ 27).

Polybius holds that it is wise to respect or to treat conservatively the religiosity of the multitude, and one must pardon some of the authors when they report portents and invent stories about such matters, but we must oppose the excess thereof (XVI. 12, 9). When human beings default in the domain of intelligence, then they rank lower than brute animals (XVIII. 15, 16). I add a noble utterance on a great theme; viz. that of Truth: "And it seemed to me that Nature appointed Truth for mankind as the greatest deity (τὴν μέγιστην θεόν) and endowed her with the greatest force. For when all contend against her, sometimes even when all the plausibilities (πιθανότητες) associated with Falsehood are ranged against her, somehow or other she by herself alone will in the end enter into the souls of men, and sometimes reveal her power at once, sometimes even when

⁸¹ Perhaps Hirzel saw a little more than actually is there.

⁸² Whereas the Epicureans deduced them by utilitarian evolution precisely as the modern zoological speculation does.

⁸³ He uses the strong term of παραδοξολογία. On the *sensus communis*, the κοινὸς νοῦς of mankind, see X. 36, 4.

she has been in darkness for a long time; and will batter Falsehood down" (XIII. 5, 4 sqq.). On Conscience: "For there is neither a witness so fearful nor so supremely efficient an accuser as that conscience (*σύνεσις*) that dwells in the souls of all"⁸⁴ (XVIII. 43, 13). Of the Stoic *κοινὸς νοῦς* he says: *καὶ τὸν κοινὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ὃ σπάνιόν ἐστιν* (XXI. 22, 5). The noblest achievements of man (*τὰ κατορθώματα*) must be independent of Fortune, but wrought in consonance with deliberate reason: such were those of Scipio Aemilianus (XXXII. 16, 1 sqq.). Finally we meet again and again the black thread or strain deeply woven into the texture of the Stoic sect: I mean the commendation of suicide, whenever it pointed the way out of undeserved suffering, humiliation and despair. It is the one great and ever open door to freedom. So Polybius traces the latter career of three politicians of Epirus (Molossians) (they had been pro-Macedonian in the crisis of 171-168 B. C.) to Pydna, when they met the final issue without flinching; "confronting the given situation (*ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες τοῖς παρούσιν*) they died nobly (*γενναίως*); hence it is proper to praise them because they did not weakly abandon themselves nor were indifferent to themselves, when they came into a situation unworthy of their previous life." But he adds a cautious reservation: "It is not a smaller symptom of an ignoble spirit, prematurely to take oneself out of life when one's conscience is clear of wrong, sometimes overawed (*καταπλεγέντα*) at the threatening attitude⁸⁵ of one's political adversaries, sometimes overawed by the power of those in power, than to love life beyond the behests of Duty."⁸⁶ Deinon of Rhodes ought to have committed suicide, instead of living on as a marked man (XXX. 8). Similar was the case of Polyaratus: he was even more foolish and craven and was transported to Rome as a prisoner of state (XXX. 9).

E. G. SIHLER.

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS,
NEW YORK CITY.

⁸⁴ There is nothing finer in Seneca.

⁸⁵ He had experienced all this before and after Pydna.

⁸⁶ These final words, in the original, are Stoic to the core (XXX. 7, 8).

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, VOL. LIV, N. S., Parts 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-9. B. A. van Groningen, *De Octaviani Caesaris ante Principatum conditum Imperio*. A discussion of the authority underlying the actions of Octavian during the years 32-28. Octavian became sole triumvir at the termination of Antony's tenure; this apparent anomaly was in keeping with the fact that the title triumvir had been held by Antony and Octavian after Lepidus' removal. Octavian's authority was triumviral until Dec. 31, 32; thereafter, consular. But his actions implied more than consular power. The question, therefore, is whether he had legal grounds for his course. Adducing *Res gest. div. Aug.* 25 & 34; *Suet. Aug.* 17; *Dio* 50, 6, the author claims that the covenant of allegiance on the part of Rome, Italy and the Provinces would suffice for a continued legal imperium lasting beyond the end of the year 32, for no limit was implied. The consular rank was retained to avoid the embarrassment of being rendered a private individual should the imperium be suddenly abrogated.

P. 9. F. Muller, *Inscriptio Pompeiana restituitur*. *CIL* IV 64 add. p. 191. A reward offered for the return of a stolen vase or the arrest of the thief. For "*rem servare*" read "*recuperare*."

Pp. 10-18. C. Brakman, *Ad Vergilii Eclogam quartam*. The poem contains 63 verses, 7 times the square of 3, sacred numbers in antiquity. The life of the boy is expressed in 49 verses, the square of 7, and verse 49 is the focus of the poem. Exception is taken to some interpretations of Weber, *Der Prophet u. sein Gott*, Lips. 1925, who finds too many references to the boy, e. g. *decus*, v. 11. Rhetorical devices are: alliterations, 7; anaphorae, 7; epanalepses, 2; diaphorae, 3. In v. 3 one hears the whispering of leaves, in v. 45 the cropping sound of feeding sheep. The Eclogue antedates Hor. *Epod.* 16.

Pp. 19-28. J. H. Thiel, *De Synoecismo Boeotiae post annum 379 peracto*. Boeotia from 447 to 386 was a federation of city states. In 386 the cities became nominally autonomous and began individual coinages. In 382 the citadel of Thebes was taken by Lacedaemonians, who were expelled in the winter of 379-8; whereupon the Thebans attempted to form again a federation of Boeotian cities, but were prevented from entering the towns by the Lacedaemonians; the inhabitants, however, fled to Thebes—the beginning of the "*synoecismus*." After liberation from the Lacedaemonians the inhabitants of Boeotia were com-

bined into a pan-Boeotian *συντέλεια* which the author defines not as "foedus" but as "synoecismus" and likens the situation in Boeotia to that of Attica. Coins of Boeotia after 379 exhibit the names of Boeotarchae; during 447-386 the name Thebes; hence the identity of the Thebans was submerged in the new Boeotian state. A contributing cause toward the new type of state structure and the discarding of the old was the concentration of population at Thebes after 379.

Pp. 29-41. C. Brakman, *Liviana* (continued from vol. 53). Liv. 26, 13, 15, for in carcerem conditus exspirem, read in carcere stranguler; cf. Plin. Epist. 2, 11, 8; Flor. 2, 12, 10. 26, 25, 8, for igitur . . . vastare, supply igitur *vagas manus* vastare. 26, 26, 3, for cessit. Litterae, read cessit. Set litterae. 26, 27, 12, quia need not be changed to quippe. 26, 32, 8, supply thus: *obtestantes* et obsecrantes, cf. 26, 49, 11; 30, 12, 16. 26, 39, 18, utin might have been statim ut in the archetype. 26, 40, 10, H. I. Mueller should not insert esset and thus spoil the clausula —rum procul visa. 26, 49, 12, stimulat may be allowed to stand. 26, 51, 6; 35, 26, 2, simulacris navalis pugnae, cf. Lucr. 2, 41, belli simulacra cientis; Verg. Aen. 5, 585, pugnaeque cient simulacra. 26, 7, 3; 27, 20, 6; 28, 42, 16, caput belli, cf. Verg. Aen. 12, 572; Ov. ex P. 2, 1, 46; Flor. 1, 18, 21. 27, 25, 14, read aciem meare for aciem exire, cf. Curt. 8, 4, 3. 27, 27, 13, read historiam for ordinem. 27, 45, 11, supply signis *absistere* nec, cf. 25, 37, 12, discurrunt concurrunt etc. 28, 23, 1, read haec tamen *manibus* hostium . . edebantur. 28, 44, 6, supply et *facessere* molientem, cf. 1, 47, 5; 4, 58, 7, etc. 28, 44, 5, ad hoc nos, etiam deserti ab sociis, viribus nostris, milite Romano stetimus, cf. Enn. moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque. 28, 45, 21, institit operi, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 504, instans operi. 29, 5, 8, supply dimissis *conquisitoribus* clam, cf. 21, 21, 13. 29, 11, 1, read esse *confisi* facturum. 29, 17, 6, cf. Lucr. 3, 836-7. 29, 17, 7, cf. Cic. Ver. 5, 143. 29, 17, 12, cf. Cic. Ver. 5, 145-6. 29, 17, 20, cf. Cic. Ver. 5, 143 & 146. 29, 26, 7, cf. Thuc. 6, 30, 2. 29, 27, 1, cf. Thuc. 6, 32, 1. 29, 27, 5, cf. Thuc. 6, 32, 3. 30, 4, 5, read sententia *ederet* seu. 30, 7, 6, read tribus *variaturum sententiis* una, cf. 22, 60, 3. 30, 11, 8, read prope percelli turbati for propere turbati. 30, 29, 4, read sed maxime hostis for maxime si hostis. 30 45, 6, popularis aura, cf. 29, 37, 17, populari aura, 22, 26, 4, auram favoris popularis, Hor. C. 3, 2, 20, arbitrio popularis aurae.

Pp. 42-76. J. C. Naber, *Observatiunculae ad Papyros Iuridicae* (continued from vol. 53). Description of the form taken by *χαράγματα*, the certificates of magistrates that the documents concerned had been perused and recorded. The *χάραγμα* takes the form of the name of the magistrate, title of his office, and

date. A list of examples is subjoined, including documents from 257 B. C. to 305 A. D.

Pp. 77-80. C. Brakman, *Propertiana*. Propertius in several instances seems given to parody, e. g. 1, 12, 15, *felix qui potuit praesenti flere puellae*, cf. Verg. G. 2, 490; see Jahn, *Bukolika u. Georgika*⁹ p. 172. Also 4, 8, 49-51, *cum subito . . valvas*, cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 111-112, *cum subito . . valvarum*. Also in verse 24 of the elegy, *Molossa canes*, cf. *Molossis canibus* in verses 114-115 of the satire. Examples of *sermo cotidianus* are: *temporis aetas*, 1, 4, 7; *litoris ora*, 1, 20, 9; *ocelli*, 1, 3, 19; 1, 19, 5; *lectulus*, 2, 15, 2; in with accusative, 3, 9, 60; comparative with *magis*, 2, 9, 38; 2, 9, 49; 3, 5, 18; relative strengthened by demonstrative as in Plautus, 2, 29, 15; *tota* for *omnia*, 1, 16, 38; *quanta* for *quot*, 1, 5, 10; shift of mood in dependent interrogative, 2, 16, 29, *invenit . . arserit*, also 3, 5, 26-46; several appearances of *quare*; pluperfect for imperfect and perfect, 2, 6, 1-6; 1, 8, 36 etc.

Pp. 81-87. D. Cohen, *Annotationes ad Auctores et Papyros nonnullas*. 1) A lacuna in P. Tebt. 1, 106 is filled on the basis of B. G. U. 6, 1270. 2) *οἱ ἔξω τάξεων* is explained as *ἀπόμαχοι* by comparing Diodorus 17, 83, 2, and Arrian An. 4, 22, 5; see also Diod. 19, 49; 19, 81, 4. 3) Strabo quotes Callisthenes, not verbatim, with regard to the pronouncement of the oracle of Ammon that Alexander the Great was son of Zeus; Diodorus and Curtius seem to have drawn from the same source, implying that the response was a surprise to Alexander; Arrian appears to have used Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus, implying that Alexander expected such an answer; with Troguus-Justinus and Gellius the fiction is still further elaborated. 4) Aristeas found nothing miraculous in the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek; Philo speaks of the translators acting "as if" inspired. If the saving expression "as if" be omitted or forgotten, the belief in divine direction gains ground.

Pp. 88-98. D. Cohen, *De Demetrio Phalereo*. The 10 years of Demetrius' prefectureship of Athens were kindly ones for that city. It is regrettable that information concerning the man is scanty; the "life" of Suidas is unreliable, and that of Diogenes Laertius not free from fault. The author presents certain apposite references from Aristotle, Cicero, Philochorus, Plutarch, Theophrastus, and others, by which it is shown that Demetrius gave attention to the observance of law, the maintenance of popular liberty, the fostering of the arts, and the alleviation of the condition of the poor.

Pp. 99-100. F. Muller, *De Vocibus Latinis Erilis et Patruelis*. A nexus exists between adjectives and the genitive of

nouns. The quantity of the penult in these two words indicates an origin such as this: *filius erilis* is *erī filiūs*; *filius patruēlis* is *patruī filiūs*. In *patruēlis*, the *e* of the penult is accounted for by dissimilation with the *u* of the antepenult which is cognate with *i*. Examples are given, among them, Plaut. Amph. 1069, *erilis praevortit metus*, i. e. *erī metus*.

Pp. 101-117. A. G. Roos, *Ad Ursulum Philippum Boissevain septuagenarium epistula de Arriani Periplo ponti Euxini*. The author remarks that the authenticity of a portion of the *Periplus* of Arrian has been impugned from time to time. He refers to the views of Brandis in Rh. Mus. 51; of Patsch, Klio 4; of Reuss, Rh. Mus. 56, who accepts the *Periplus* as genuine. The author is in accord with this view and in opposition to a statement of Kiessling in Realencycl. VIII p. 274, that the *Periplus* is not genuine beyond chap. 11. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, and Chapot, *Rev. Ét. Grec.* 34 hark back to the view of Brandis of 1896.

Pp. 118-129. M. M. Assmann, *De Vocabulis quibus Herodotus in singulis operis sui partibus Mentem Animumque significat*. *φρήν* appears with one exception in books 1, 3, 7. *σώφρων*, *σωφρονέω* in 1, 3, 7. *φιλοφροσύνη*, *φιλοφρονέω* in 3, 5. *φρενήρης* in 3, 5, 9. *όμοφρονέω*, *εύφρόνη* in 7, 8, 9. *φρόνημα* in 3, 8, 9. *νοῦς* meaning *mens*, not *animus*, in 3, 5, 6, 8. *εἶνους*, *εἶνοια*, *εἰνός* in 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *νοέω*, *animum induco*, in 3, 7, 8, 9. *ἄθυμος*, *ἀθυμία* in 1, 7. *ἀποθίμος* in 7. *καταθύμος* in 5, 9. *θυμόομαι* in 3, 5, 7. *ψυχή* meaning *sedes affectuum* in 3; *sedes fortitudinis* in 3, 5, 7; *mores* in 7. Invidiousness on the part of the gods appears in 1, 3, 7.

Pp. 130-145. W. A. Baehrens, *De Kynegetico Xenophonteo*. The author displays a number of phrases from the *Cynegeticus*, which, compared with others from other works of Xenophon, tend to show that the diction is the same.

Pp. 146-153. J. W. Bierma, *Quaestiones ad fabulam Plautinam Menaechmos pertinentes*. Niemeyer's note (Teubner 1912) on Men. 902, Ulixes, (who is strangely compared to a parasite) is not to the point. The author refers to Phaenias ap. Athenaeum 1, 6, e, where Philoxenus is told of as assigning to himself the part of Odysseus and that of Polyphemus to Dionysius of Syracuse. Hence it may be that Philoxenus became identified with this part, and the allusion in Men. 902 may be to him and not the real Odysseus.

Pp. 154-161. M. Engers, *ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ*. Literature shows that the force of the word *πολίτευμα* is sometimes the same as

πολιτεία; inscriptions show that it may also indicate an autonomous state, whether of Greek or other inhabitants, situated within the territory of a given city.

Pp. 162-163. A. W. de Groot, De CIL IX 3473. The author indicates how this inscription may be read after the fashion of the "dactyls" of Commodianus.

Pp. 164-174. K. Van der Heyde, Observationes ad Munera nonnullorum temporum Latinorum pertinentes. In the plays of Plautus the shades of meaning of the various tenses are less restricted than in narrative literature. On viewing the imperfect indicative, it is found to display a force that differs with the nature of the verb itself, whether it be a verb of auxiliary type, or of willing, or of perceiving, or declaring. Examples are given to show that the imperfect may embrace both past and present; that it may, in the indicative, have an "unreal" force; that it may balance a past fact against a present case; that it may be ironical. The present may have a force comparable to the Greek perfect; the present for future is for the most part of the first person.

Pp. 175-188. W. E. J. Kuiper, De Euripidis Helena. The author claims that Theonoe was not young and beautiful at the dramatic date, but practically a contemporary of Telamon; that the old woman janitress is Theonoe herself, who reports to Helen just what she has overheard from Menelaus. There follows a discussion of the characterization of Helen.

CLAYTON M. HALL.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY.

GLOTTA, XV (1926), 1-2.

Pp. 1-13. Literaturbericht für die Jahre 1922 und 1923 (Schluss). E. Vetter, Italische Sprachen.

Pp. 14-25. A. Debrunner, Zum erweiterten Gebrauch des Duals, distinguishes eight uses: (1) the natural dual and the anaphoric dual; (2) the dual with the cardinal numeral; (3) the elliptic dual, (a) Κάστορε 'Castor and Pollux,' and (b) ἀμφοῖν Πυθέα τε '(you) two, (thou) and Pytheas'; (4) the double dual mitrā-várunau, and the same with the conjunction, pitārā mātārā ca; (5) the distributive dual (K 187); (6) the dual denoting two plural groups; (7) that denoting two pairs (λ 211); (8) that denoting a singular plus a collective or a plural, as ἀλόντε (E 485). Then a similar study of ἀμφότεροι, uterque, etc. Groups 1, 3, 5, go back to the Indo-European unity; 7 is a

special case of 5 or a mean between 1 and 5; 6 and 8 are rare variations; 2 shows transfer from a united pair to paired separates.

Pp. 25-28. A. Debrunner, *ἔκλεσα—ἡγγεῖλα* bei Homer, agrees in part with Wackernagel K. Z. XXIX 129 ff. and in part with Solmsen ib. 352 ff., as to variation of the aorist formation in roots in λ and ρ; but adds that in monosyllabic stems forms without σ crept into the Homeric text where metrically equivalent forms were in use in Ionic or Attic, while σ-forms otherwise remained; and thinks that posthomeric σ-forms are under Homeric influence.

Pp. 28-44. Fritz Conrad, *Vers-Ende und Sinnesabschnitt bei Plautus*, points out that to make the sense end with the verse Plautus employs at the end of the line archaisms (*progredimini*, *texier*, *reconciliassere*, *danunt*), anaptyctic forms (*extempulo*), unusual flexions (*architectonem*), derivatives (*manifestarius*, *incommodestici*), unusual abstract nouns, frequentative verbs in -ito; and that Terence permits the sense to run over into the next verse.

Pp. 45-53. J. B. Hoffmann, *Zum Wesen der sog. polaren Ausdrucksweise*, classifies the means employed to group opposites for combinations and for contrasts: by the same radicals with different prefixes or suffixes, by compounds of noun-stems with one element changed, by different radicals with the same prefixes, by word opposites, by opposite word-groups. His examples are mostly from Plautus and from German.

Pp. 53-60. Wilhelm Baehrens, *Zu lateinischem sublimen (-m)*, shows that the word is originally *sublimen* and means 'in the air'; cf. Plautus *Miles* 1394; that *limen* in this word means lintel above the door, not the threshold under it, and the word indicates lifting 'from under up to the lintel,' for purposes of punishment.

Pp. 60-65. P. Kretschmer, *Brot und Wein im Neugriechischen*, explains *ψωμί* 'bread' as a shortened diminutive of *ψωμός* 'bit,' because the individual received a piece and not a whole loaf, *ἄρτος*; that *νερό* 'water' is for *νερόν* 'fresh,' and *κρασί* 'wine' is from *κραῖσις* 'mixture,' because wine was normally drunk mixed with water.

Pp. 65-74. Josef Zingerle, *Miszellen*, adduces sporadic parallels for the θ and the anaptyctic vowel in the inscriptional *Κακαθιβω*, genitive of the Lycian god *Κακασβος*; and takes modern Greek *δραγάτης* 'Feld- Wein- Wald-hüter' as not from Slavic, but from the root seen in Thess. insc. *δραγατεύοντα* 'reaping' and the Hesychian *δράξων*, which he interprets as a holy duty rather than as a holy place.

Pp. 74-78. P. Kretschmer, *Mythische Namen*, explains *Κακασβος* 'Uebelross,' with the elements of *κακός* and Old Persian *aspa-* 'horse,' a kind of Charon on horseback; *Τρικασβος* by haplology for **Τρι-κακασβος*; *Κακαθιβος* as an inexact representation of actual sounds, really *-abvos*. Associates Hippa of the 49th Orphic hymn and *Ἰπτα* of a Maeonian insc. with the Mitannian name element *-hepa* and the Hittite goddess Hepit or Hipit. Regards the Maeonians, older Ionic *Μήγones* from **Μάογες*, as the people of *Mā*, cf. the Hittite place-name *Māsa*.

Pp. 74-84. Rudolf Blümel, *Homerisch ταρχύω*: of Lycian origin, akin to Etruscan *tarxu* and Tarquinius, meaning 'bury like a god or a hero (or king), splendidly and with non-Greek usages'; for the semantics, cf. Maussoleum = 'splendid tomb.'

Pp. 84-117. W. Aly, *Herodots Sprache*, attacks the lexica as full of errors on this point; shows that Herodotus does not limit himself to words of the Ionic dialect, but takes words freely from other dialects, through residence in Athens and elsewhere. He lists about 130 words found only in the second half of the *Histories*, and gives detailed studies of many words.

Pp. 118-128. Th. Birt, *Zur lateinischen Wortkunde*; *Anxur* (corruption of *ἄξιος* with *anxius*), *vafer* (orig. identical in meaning with *faber*), *-itor* (from *ire*; replaced the *u* in *janitor* and *portitor*), *domuitio* (proper reading for *domutio*), *dēns* (really participle to *edo*), *anhēlare* (with genuine *h*, cf. *χαίνω*), *odium* (to *ὀδύσσομαι*), *praedium* (to **praedere*, implied in *praeditus*).

Pp. 128-138. W. Prellwitz, *Griech. ἄνθρωπος, ἐλίκωπες* und die Wörter auf ai. *añc-* besonders im Griechischen und Lateinischen, finds cognates of this Sanskrit element in many words, Greek *-ωπες -ωπις -ωπος ἐνὶ πῇ Εὐρύπτος*, Latin *mendicus antiquos cadūcus tesqua trīcae atrōx opācus longinquos*, Germanic *-ing -ung*, etc.; but admits that the exact interrelations of the various forms cannot be determined. He takes *ἄν-θρ-ωπος* as 'creature with upright gait,' = Skt. *sa-dhryañc-* except for the *-y-*.

Pp. 139-146. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Etymologisches und Methodologisches*, explains modern Greek *τὸ κρασί(ν)* as a change of *ἡ κρᾶσις* by the influence of such neuters as *τὸ ψωμίν*, since the proper diminutive would be *κρασίδιον*; finds modern *ἡ μύτι* 'nose' to be from an ancient *μύτις* 'nose,' of which there are some scant traces; finds similar ancient sources for *βυζιον* 'human breast,' *βυζάνω* 'suckle,' without taking them direct from *μυζάω*.

Pp. 146-150. E. Täubler, *Pamphylien*, shows that the name attached to a section of Caria also, and that the Pamphylians may have been Carians divided by later Pisidians and Phrygians;

thinks Πάμφυλοι a Greek translation of the native name; attributes the Greek dialectal inscriptions to an old Greek population or to immigrants from Cyprus or Crete or Rhodes.

Pp. 150-153. Otto Immisch, *Paparium*: (Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 9. 35) for *par-par-ium, with dissimilative loss of r, from *par par, parodying ludere par impar.

Pp. 153-155. Manu Leumann, ἀταλός: first ἀταλάφρων, then ἀταλὰ φρονέων, then ἀταλός and derivative verbs.

Pp. 155-156. Manu Leumann, ἐναρσφόρος: from ἐναρα φέρειν, after ἐγγέσπαλος σακέσπαλος.

Pp. 156-158. F. Drexel, Utriclarii: a guild of fire-fighters who passed water in leathern pails.

Pp. 158-160. P. Kretschmer, Kydathen: kud 'side, outside' is now attested in Hittite, so that the word means 'Neben-Athen' or 'Unterstadt von Athen,' cf. 'Υποθήβαι, 'Ακροκόρινθος, Παρακνυπίσσιοι Paus. 3. 22. 9.

R. G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

REVIEWS

Alkestis, der Mythus und das Drama, von Dr. ALBIN LESKY.

Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl. Sitzb. 203, 1925.

Hölder-Pickler-Tempsky A-G. Wien und Leipzig.

This pamphlet of 84 pages is of some general interest, as it gives a review of the progress made in the recognition of folklore in Greek mythology, and presents a valuable study of the Alkestis myth and its influence on Euripides' play. Sixteen pages are devoted to previous investigations in the field of 'Märchen,' 'Sage' and 'Mythus.' He begins with a folksong published with variations in Erk-Böhme's *Deutscher Liederhort*, I Bd., Lpz. 1893, p. 276. It deals with a boatman, who is carrying off a maiden; she appeals to her father to ransom her; but he refuses; likewise her mother; finally her lover offers himself and thus saves the maiden. Lesky, with the aid of other versions, interprets the song as a misunderstood and distorted tradition of a 'Märchen,' which told of Death, who came to carry his prey over the sea to the world beyond; but was persuaded to accept a substitute. He next discusses four modern Greek songs, published by D. C. Hesseling (*Euripides Alkestis en de Volkspoezie, Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. kgl. Ak. Amsterd., 4. Reeks. 12. Deel. Amst. 1914*). The longest of these songs tells of an only son, Jannis, who is preparing for his wedding; suddenly Charos comes to take his soul. Jannis

proposes that a wrestling match decide his fate, but Charos refuses. Then Jannis appeals to St. George to intercede with God for him, who grants him a longer life, provided his father give him one-half of his remaining years; but his father refuses, and so in turn does his mother; at last his intended bride cheerfully makes the sacrifice. Finally he considers the Armenian song cited in Christ-Schmid's *Gk. Lit.*⁶ p. 368 f., which he classifies with the modern Greek songs, regarding them as also based on an ancient wide-spread Märchen. From this vantage-ground our author examines the Alcestis myth itself and states his results as follows: "So sind wir für den hellenischen Mythos, gestützt auf die Ergebnisse der inneren Analyse und der Vergleichung mit anderen Behandlungen des Stoffes, bis zu einer ältesten einfachsten Form vorgedrungen, die allen späteren Bearbeitungen zugrunde liegt: Ein König lebte einst, reich und glücklich, der führte ein junges schönes Weib heim. Aber am Tage der Hochzeit erschien ein unlieber Gast, der Tod, um des Königs Seele einzufordern. Alle Bitten fruchteten nichts, jemand anderer könne für ihn sterben, das war alles, was er zugestand. Aber Vater und Mutter wollten dies Opfer nicht bringen, da warf sich die junge Gattin dazwischen und folgte dem Tod, um des geliebten Mannes Leben zu retten." This folkstory furnished a chapter in the cycle dealing with Coronis, Apollo, Asclepius and Admetus. Lesky traces, through conflicting opinions, the development of the Alcestis myth. At first Apollo does not act as a mediator, Thanatus is absolute, and there is no rescue. Later Apollo persuades the Moirai to allow a substitute; and now Thanatus is merely an agent of higher powers. "Wann und wo dies geschehen ist lässt sich nicht sagen." He discredits an Hesiodic Ehoie (cf. Wilamowitz' *Isyllos*), and lays great stress on the Alcestis songs (cf. *Alc.* 445 ff.). He assumes that Phrynichus' Alcestis began with Thanatus, who finally carries Alcestis off bodily. This latter supposition does not harmonize with Thanatus' intention of cutting off a lock of her hair (cf. *Servius*, *Aen.* 4, 694); moreover instead of assuming, with Lesky, that Euripides' prolog was derived from other sources, it seems more likely to depend on Phrynichus' play, in which Alcestis' death was probably the climax, as in the myth. The wedding and tragic end of the myth afforded Phrynichus opportunities for his beautiful choruses (cf. *Arist. Birds* 749, *Wasps* 220, *Frogs* 1299; *Plut. Quaest. Conv.* 1, 1, 3; *Arist. Problem.* XVIII, 31; *Robert Mytholog.* II, 1, 30 f.). It cannot have been merely a burlesque, a view that Lesky accepts. Lesky makes some interesting observations, as viz., that Eur. Thanatus resembles the Thanatus of the 'Märchen,' and in an archaeological excursus seems to reveal a popular belief that makes Heracles' rescue of

Alcestis plausible. Otherwise his treatment of Euripides' play is unsatisfactory, as he holds that Euripides' interest was limited to the portrayal of an ideal wife and mother in the person of Alcestis; but that Admetus did not interest him, which accounts for the weakness, in his opinion, of the rest of the play. The Pheres scene is merely one of Euripides' rhetorical exhibitions. He rejects Lindskog's view that it reflects Euripides' criticism of the myth (*Studien zum antik. Drama*, Lund 1897, p. 48; accepted by Nestle, Euripides, p. 378, Anm. 25).

I have independently tried to show the importance of this scene, in which A. T. Murray concurs (cf. *Transact. Am. Phil. Assoc.* vol. XXIX, 1898, and *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve* p. 335). As the significance of this scene has so frequently failed of recognition it seems worth while to show with some detail its importance in the development of the plot. As her death did not follow the day of her decision immediately, it gave Admetus time to reflect, and consequently he began to worry (v. 420): *ἐπίσταμαί γε κοῦκ ἄφνω κακὸν τόδε προσέπτat'· εἰδὼς δ' αὐτ' ἐτειρόμην πάλαι*. Now that the fated day has arrived he is grief-stricken (v. 201), and he responds to his wife's farewell (v. 273-4): *τόδ' ἔπος λυπρὸν ἀκούειν καὶ παντὸς ἐμοὶ θανάτου μείζον . . . σοῦ γὰρ φθιμένης οὐκέτ' ἂν εἶην· ἐν σοὶ δ' ἐσμεν καὶ ζῆν καὶ μῆ*. His wife had realized at once the significance to her of his death (v. 287): *οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσα σοῦ*. The maid-servant predicted that he would in time realize his loss (v. 145, 197). Admetus, indeed grieves now, but it is too late to make amends (v. 202/3). The chorus also seem to criticize him (v. 241-3; 474-5). Only his wife does not find fault with him, instead she blames his parents (v. 290 ff.), whereupon he goes so far as to say he will hate them. Nay, even the chorus think that his parents ought to have made the sacrifice (v. 466 f.). In the Armenian song, the parents are punished for their refusal. Until Admetus meets his father he holds himself guiltless, although he has come to realize what the loss of his wife meant to him. He is so possessed with the idea that his father, being old, ought to have been willing to die for him, that he heaps abuse on him for refusing to make the sacrifice (v. 633 ff.) and tells him sarcastically (v. 669-672): *μάτην ἄρ' οἱ γέροντες εὐχονται θανεῖν, γῆρας ψέγοντες κτλ.* (cf. Aesop's fable, *γέρον καὶ θάνατος*). The old man is so astounded at his son's words that he begins (v. 675): *ὦ παῖ, τί ν' αὖχῃς, πότερα Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα κακοῖς ἐλαύνειν κτλ.* In v. 689 ff. he says: *τί δῆτά σ' ἠδίκηκα; τοῦ σ' ἀποστερῶ; μὴ θνήσχ' ὑπὲρ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς, οὐδ' ἐγὼ πρὸ σοῦ. χαίρεις ὁρῶν φῶς· πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς*; In v. 696 ff. he gives him a hard blow: *εἴτ' ἐμὴν ἀψυχίαν ψέγεις, γυναικὸς, ὦ κάκιωθ', ἥσσημένος*. Admetus, naturally, does not yield during the altercation; but when he

returns from the funeral his mind is changed; the words of his father have taken effect. Pheres had said (v. 712): *ψυχῇ μᾶζην, οὐ δυοῖν ὀφείλομεν*, and now Admetus says (v. 883): *μία γὰρ ψυχῇ, τῆς ὑπεραλγεῖν μέτριον ἄχθος*. The chorus still sympathize with him. They had prevented him from throwing himself into the grave, and say (v. 929): *ἀλλ' ἔσωσας βίον καὶ ψυχάν*. This touches him deeply and in vv. 935 ff. he admits his great mistake, which will give his enemies occasion to revile him for his cowardice. Especially significant is his realization that he had wronged his parents (v. 958). The Pheres scene resembles in its function the Teiresias scene in Soph. Antig. The play throughout deals with the character and psychology of Admetus. Some have been shocked at the unseemliness of the Pheres scene in the presence of the funeral cortège; a still more disgraceful interruption of a funeral procession occurs in Shakespeare's Richard III, Act 1, scene II.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

Morphologie Historique du Latin. Par A. ERNOUT, Professeur à la Sorbonne et à l'École des Hautes Études. Avec un avant-propos par A. Meillet, Professeur au Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut, Président de l'École des Hautes Études. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. (Nouvelle Collection à l'Usage des Classes, xxxii.) Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1927. Pp. xiv + 404. Bound in cloth, 24 francs.

The first edition of this convenient handbook appeared in 1914. The new edition has been freshly set up in type, with an addition of about ten per cent to the text. These additions are chiefly for clarification of the exposition, or to introduce additional examples; but where circumstances permit or demand, different views of the phenomena are introduced. The explanation of the genitive singular in Decl. I (pp. 32-33) seems to be an improvement over that in the first edition, for example, and the participation of *i*-stems of the type *fons*, *mens* in the amalgamation of *i*-stems and consonant-stems in the third declension (p. 60) is illuminating. On the other hand, the withdrawal of acceptance of Postgate's theory of the origin of the future infinitive (pp. 361-362) can hardly be called an advance, especially as no alternative theory is suggested.

Indication of length of vowels is often omitted where it should be given. The misprints of the first edition are mostly corrected, though a few remain, and a new set, not very numerous,

has sprung up. Perhaps the most disturbing are those at p. 342. 14 (-i- for -ī-, where the point of the argument is in the length of the vowel) and p. 197. 8 ("l's finale caractéristique du passif," instead of *r*). The others can in most instances be discounted even by the student.

There remain the variations in the views of scholars, for no two specialists in the field will agree on all details. But the present reviewer must regret that the points which he criticized in the first edition (see *C. P.* xi, 246-248) remain with one exception unchanged; for in many of them the criticisms could have been met without an actual change of opinion on the part of the author: a more careful wording, a few phrases of explanation, a hint at an alternative theory, would have been adequate for most, though not for all of them. But, as has been said, we cannot all agree; and the present handbook is most convenient, both to teacher and to student.

ROLAND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Die Duenos-Inschrift. Von EMIL GOLDMAN, Professor an der Universität Wien. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von H. Hirt und W. Streitberg. Dritte Abteilung: Untersuchungen. 8.) Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg. 1926. Pp. xiii + 176, and 2 plates.

In 1880 there was found in Rome a small triple vase or jar, bearing a retrograde Latin inscription in archaic characters; it is now in Berlin. It was first published by its finder, H. Dressel, in collaboration with F. Bücheler, who then also wrote on it. There followed an avalanche of articles, which still continues, culminating for the moment in this goodly volume.¹

The book contains the following sections: review of previous interpretations, pp. 1-18; proof of the magical character of the inscription, pp. 19-51, with dating in the second half of the fifth century B. C., pp. 27-34; interpretation of the first line of the inscription, pp. 51-85, of the second line, pp. 86-119, of the third line, pp. 119-151, of the whole inscription, pp. 151-153; the arrangement of the inscription—artistic, metrical, magical—pp. 154-170; additions and corrections, pp. 171-172; indexes, pp. 173-176; with the two plates at the end.

Professor GOLDMANN's text is as follows; he takes only two

¹ [This review was crowded out of the last number of the *Journal*. The author has since published an article of his own (see below), which has led to a certain amount of overlapping in the two pieces of writing. —C. W. E. M.]

liberties, both justifiable, that final *m* may be omitted and that a final letter and an initial letter, if identical, may be represented by one and the same character:

io, veisat deivos, qoi med mitat, nei ted endo cosmis virco sied;
adstet nois; tum (*or io*) opetom ites ei, pacari vois.
duenos med feked enmano^m meinom; duenoi ne e med malos
statod.

His literal Latin version follows:

io, visat divus, qui me mittat, ne in te comis virgo sit;
adstet nobis; tum (*or io*,) obitum ites ei, pacari vobis.
bonus me fecit immanem minum; bono ne e me malus stato!

He fortunately provided also a German version, with explanation, which may thus be represented in English, including explanatory interpolations:

"Oho, may the God who shall release me (the magic of the vase), look down with favor, that the girl be not well inclined toward thee (the rival lover). May she (the girl) stand by us (the vase and its user); then thou (the rival) mayest (*or oho*, thou shalt) only have recourse to a (magical) counter proceeding in reference to her (the girl), that reconciliation be made between you (the rival and the girl). A good man (the potter) has made me powerful (if used by a good man) and weak (if used by a bad man); the bad man shall not from (use of) me hold his ground against a good man!"

Professor GOLDMANN takes the jar to be an instrument of magic, which is supported by the triple form of the jar, the manner in which the three lines of the inscription form an unbroken band around it, and the retrograde or inverted writing. But he goes too far when he claims (pp. 25 ff., 36 ff.) that the writing is both retrograde and inverted; when you read the letters upside down, the writing runs from left to right, and when you invert the jar so that the letters are right side up, then the direction of writing is retrograde. All the arguments which he brings for its use as an instrument of magic are equally favorable to the interpretation of the inscription as a curse. In this connection it seems hard to reject the parallels which Prof. R. S. Conway adduced in this Journal (x. 445-459) from the Cnidian curses, to portions of the first and third lines of the Duenos inscription: for *nei ted endo cosmis virco sied*, cf. *μὴ εὐίλατός σοι εἴη Κόρη*, which may reasonably be inferred from *μὴ τύχοι Δάματρος καὶ Κόρας μηδὲ θεῶν τῶν παρὰ Δάματρος εὐίλατων*, and *duenoi ne med malom statod* is a regular apotropaic formula. But if we should grant that the jar is magical, then we may

grant Professor GOLDMANN's view that the three cavities are for the burning of substances that will give off a heavy smoke, such smoke magic being not unfamiliar (pp. 49-50).

In an inscription like this, an interpretation must be accepted or rejected as a whole. The rejection of one or two words may and probably will throw out the entire version, in so far as it differs from previous attempts. For this reason I must indicate the weak points in the present one. Professor GOLDMANN takes *mitat* as a subjunctive (pp. 76-81), but without trying to justify the differences between it and **meitād*, the proper form at this early date. The datives *nois* and *vois* for *nobis* and *vobis* (pp. 90-97) seem to me at least as unlikely as many other words and forms which he rejects because they or their reasonable equivalents are not found in later Latin. As for *opetom*, he equates it (pp. 114-119) with Latin *obitum*, as a magical *Gegenzug*; the *op-* as the old form of *ob* is justifiable, but the *-e-* cannot be equated with the *-i-* of *obitum* by comparing *co-etus* (wherein *oe* is really a diphthong!) and *co-itus*. Further, *obitum* is accusative of a *u*-stem, and *opetom* belongs to an *o*-stem. I am sceptical also about the propriety of *iai* as a dative singular feminine to *is* (pp. 108-109); I could admit *eai*, but doubt *iai*, though sponsored by Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxxv. 193-212, who is followed by Meyer-Lübke, Grienberger, Schenkl, Kretschmer, Ribezzo, Cocchia. The use of the passive infinitive *pakari* to denote purpose, with an attached dative as in the text (pp. 98-99), seems very awkward. For *meinom* 'weak,' his warrant is found in *minam* Paul. Fest. 87 Th. and *mina ovis* Varro R. R. ii. 2. 6, with which he compared Greek ἀ-μείνω and the Latin comparative *minor* (pp. 150-151). But despite the richness of his bibliographical collections, he has missed H. Ehrlich, *Unters. ii. d. Natur d. gr. Betonung*, p. 72, who interprets *en mano meinom* as *in Manium munus*—a version so fitting that, in conjunction with Conway's parallels from the Cnidian curses, I must regard this inscription as a curse and not as a piece of love-magic directed against a rival lover.

Even though one should not lend his support to Professor GOLDMANN's interpretation in detail, and therefore not as a whole, the present study is extremely valuable for its rich bibliography (though I have in my lists a number of other items, but nothing of real importance except the reference to Ehrlich, just cited), its summary of previous views, its critique of them in detail, its amplified arguments for the magical character of the jar, which, as I have said, serves about as well for him who regards the inscription as a curse. And it is probable that scholars will never come to an agreement as to the meaning of this inscription. Professor GOLDMANN gives forty previous in-

terpretations, his own interpretation is the forty-first, and the reviewer is holding in reserve a forty-second < since published in *Language* ii, 207-222 >.

ROLAND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

EDUARD MEYER: *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien*. Pp. 82. Berlin, 1925. Verlag Carl Curtius. Bound 4 Marks.

This booklet is an elaboration of a lecture which Professor MEYER has delivered on several occasions. With admirable clearness, the author presents in 82 pages the history of the Hellenistic countries east of the Euphrates river. He treats at some length the history of Babylonia, Iran and the frontier districts of India, but touches only cursorily upon that of Syria and Asia Minor. The treatise is a veritable mine of information, which if developed would occupy a stately volume. All that the reviewer can hope to do is to present an exposition of the trend of thought and allow the contents to speak for themselves.

Professor MEYER traces the history of Hellenism from the year 333/2 when, after the battle of Issus, Darius made futile peace overtures to Alexander. Next we have a sketch of the spread of Greek culture in the East, Alexander's policies and the consequences of his death.

Since Greek cities were the most potent factor in the dissemination of Hellenism, the author dwells on the colonization policy instituted by Alexander, a policy which, though temporarily interrupted by his death, was to be continued and realized by the Diadochi. He passes then to a review of Babylonia with its Greek cities and pays special attention to the development of cultural life which became here, so to say, a blend of Greek and Eastern elements.

The process of Hellenizing Iran by Antiochos I is then discussed and compared with Babylonia. While in Babylonia the Greek and Oriental elements blended, the native elements in Iran resisted the incoming wave of Hellenism and preserved in a stronger degree the native characteristics, especially their religious traditions. This was due to the fact that the central government pursued a policy of peaceful fusion without attempting to suppress the Asiatic element. In this policy the government was assisted by the newly founded Greek cities, which served as a cultural ferment to the empire and as a means of unlocking the economic and spiritual treasures of the country.

The policy of the Seleucidae is then contrasted with that of the Lagidae, and the conclusion reached that the empire of the

Seleucidae alone was the kernel of Hellenism, which proceeded *pari passu* with the fusion of the nations. This, however, could not last for ever. The immense expanse of the empire and the fact that Hellenism was not confined to a limited area but strove to gain ground in countries of widely differing natures, gradually became the sources of its decline. This decline begins in the third century. It was hastened by hostile invasions from without, the relaxing of the grasp of the central government, and the particularism of the Greek cities. Furthermore, the growth of buffer-states and the rising power of the Parthians enabled Asiatic tribes to occupy Bactria and thus split the unity of the Hellenistic world.

India now became the chief seat of Hellenism. But in the first century the Sacae and the Tochari put an end to this independent kingdom. Hellenism disappears, from India westward to Syria, and the achievements of Hellenism lose their Greek character and finally revert to West-Asiatic standards. Meyer does not ascribe the dissolution of Hellenism to a revolt of the East against Hellenism, but rather to an internal decomposition of the Greek spirit due to its fusion with Orientalism and to an inner enervation and loss of vitality which every culture is liable to suffer as a result of expansion. Besides this the Hellenistic states had also to pay careful attention to Western affairs, owing to the rise of the Roman empire, which finally was to seal their fate. The implications of Roman foreign policy are made clear, which policy was as fatal to the Seleucidae as it had been for instance to the empire of the Lagidae. Complication after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes made the empire a prey of Parthians and their final victory (129 B. C.) shows clearly that the historical rôle of the Seleucidae is ended.

In the empire of the Parthians—a loosely organized empire whose creation Professor Meyer ascribes to mere chance (*Zufallsbildung*)—a reaction against Hellenism slowly but consistently took place. Since communication with the Greek world was interrupted, the Greeks were in the position of holders of small enclaves among a population speaking a different language and entertaining different conceptions of life. In consequence, Greek art degenerates and becomes utterly foreign. This process of Orientalization reached its climax after 50 A. D. when the Parthians put an end to the commercial eminence of Seleukia.

From a historical point of view, Professor Meyer holds the Romans responsible for this change and deterioration, and it is from the Romans that Hellenism received its death-blow. By burning Seleukia (164 A. D.) they destroyed the bulwark of Hellenism in the East. From this time Greek disappears in the lands of the Euphrates and the Tigris and the Aramaic language

takes the place of the Greek. The survivals of Greek culture now appear imbedded in the Aramaic culture of which the Christians and Jews are the principal heirs.

From this short outline one can see the wealth of information that the booklet contains. Attention should also be called to the sane judgment and impartiality with which facts are recorded and events of importance analyzed. Another laudable feature is the parallels and comparisons from modern history; compare for instance, p. 41, where the emigration to the newly opened countries is compared with the emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century.

JACOB HAMMER.

HUNTER COLLEGE,
NEW YORK.

MARY A. GRANT: *The Ancient Rhetorical Theories of the Laughable. The Greek Rhetoricians and Cicero.* University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. No. 21. Madison, 1924. 161 pp.¹

This Wisconsin doctoral dissertation² is a substantial piece of work, well planned, competently supervised (essentially by Professor G. C. Fiske, whose untimely death this past January we all deplore, and who was a recognized authority in this general field of study), and conscientiously carried to completion.

The first chapter sets forth the "Greek Ideas of the Laughable," beginning with the maxims of the Seven Wise Men, continuing with the Pre-Socratics, the Sophists, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle (in whom the first even moderately developed theory appears), Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum,³ and finally

¹ The following reviews have come to my attention: G. Ammon, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 46 (1926) 442-6; T. Callender, *The Classical Review* 39 (1925) 196-7; Theo Herrle, *Literarisches Zentralblatt* 77 (1926) 275; J. Marouzeau, *Revue des Études Latines* 4 (1926) 72-3; Paul Shorey, *Classical Philology* 21 (1926) 282; Larue Van Hook, *The Classical Weekly* 19 (1925-6) 63-5.

² It seems a bit odd, especially in a study which lays considerable stress upon fine points of usage, to call a piece of extended analysis and exposition a 'thesis,' as the author does.

³ Who certainly did not write in the "the first century B. C." (p. 34), for he died shortly after the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was in 283 B. C. The author means, no doubt, that the *De elocutione* is falsely ascribed to Demetrius of Phalerum; but in any event the prevailing opinion, that the work in question belongs to the first century *after* Christ (to the list of those who support the later date, as given in Christ-Schmid⁶ 2, 78, n. 5, add such distinguished names as L. Radermacher and W. Rhys Roberts in their respective editions (1901 and 1902), p. xiv-xv, and p. 60-4) certainly deserves to be mentioned, particularly because the treatise thus becomes later than the time of Cicero.

Plutarch. Just why some of the discussions by later Rhetoricians (enumerated by Van Hook, *l. c.*), have not been included, does not appear. Doubtless little would be learned out of them aside from the depressing continuity of (mainly Peripatetic) tradition, and they are all later than Cicero, but then so are Domitius Marsus, Quintilian, Plutarch, and very likely also the Pseudo-Demetrius of Phalerum.

The exposition here is excellent and the results do not differ materially from those reached by E. Arndt: *De ridiculi doctrina rhetorica* (Bonn Dissertation, 1904), although the field covered is far more extensive. The upshot of Greek speculation is that the ridiculous is a kind of deformity which is not painful to others; that laughter is little more than a means of relaxation, useful mainly for the accomplishment of some serious purpose; and that a sharp distinction should be drawn between the ill-natured ('illiberal') and the good-natured ('liberal') jest, in which latter view the author recognizes the germ of the doctrine of propriety in jesting, which was elaborated by Cicero.

Particularly interesting, and, if my memory can be trusted, entirely new in the modern literature of the subject, is the collection of *sententiae* from the Sages and the Pre-Socratics, which, although they formulate no 'doctrine,' are nevertheless valuable for representing "certain half-intuitive expressions of the theory of the laughable which were later to be consciously formulated and organized" (p. 17). Some of these dicta, indeed, seem to contain very little 'theory' by way either of presupposition or inference, but they are all worthy of note.

In this connection it may be worth while to quote a suggestive generalization by Marouzeau (*l. c.*, 72-3) "Where Plato saw only a relaxation, Cicero sees a trick of his trade; where the Greeks thought of aesthetics, the Romans thought of morality."—In general there is scarcely any attempt to consider modern psychological and philosophical views upon humor as a whole, or the ancient attitude toward it, although the one instance (p. 118) in which the author explodes a careless generalization by Max Eastman, leads one to suspect that she might have much of interest to say in this connection.

There follows an entertaining discussion of the quality of humor employed in the comic genres (p. 39-61), where perhaps Herondas and Theocritus might have received proportionally more emphasis, and where certainly the extensive, varied, and admirable humor of the ancient fable ought not to have been entirely neglected. Especially good is the discussion of the Cynics (53-9), who deliberately 'smeared the edge of the cup with honey that the draught might not prove so bitter' (56, and also 59 and 144) and in so doing became the direct models of Horace.

Chapter II is devoted to "The Laughable in Cicero," whose principal contributions seem to have been the elaboration of the doctrine of propriety in the employment of humor, although that had been pretty well foreshadowed in Aristotle. There are many acute observations upon the exact meaning of numerous technical terms in Latin, and their Greek equivalents, when they have any. Particularly well established seems to be the denial that *facetiae* and *dicacitas* correspond exactly to the *χάρης* and *γέλως* of the Peripatetics (103 ff.). I should question, however, the somewhat offhand assumption that Cicero was immediately influenced by the stylistic ideals of the Scipionic circle; his doctrine derives, I fancy, much more directly from the conventional teaching of the rhetorical schools of his own day.—Also Cicero was rather surprisingly ill-read in Comedy of any kind, and his references to such a great name as Menander are noteworthy only for their infrequency. Besides, it seems hardly apposite to cite as evidence of admiration for Menander a passage (*Fin.* 1, 2, 4) in which Cicero expressly claims to prefer plays by Caecilius and Terence to the originals by the Greek dramatist.—Towards the end indications are given that the still more important topics of Cicero's own practice as compared with his theory of humor, and the most notable figure of Horace, especially in this connection, are reserved for future publication. They will be welcome.

There is a fair bibliography, which could easily have been enlarged for there are several rather surprising omissions.

I doubt the rather easygoing derivation of *facetus* (p. 112), apparently from Harper's Dictionary (the authority of which in such matters is pretty low), but very generally abandoned nowadays (e. g. by Menge, Stowasser-Skutsch, Georges⁸, the *Thesaurus*, and especially Walde, s. v.). Also something much more substantial about the etymology of *sannio* (p. 151, n. 32) might have been learned from J. C. Austin: *The Significant Name in Terence* (1921), 51-2.

There is a very serviceable index. The printing is on the whole good, but flawless work in this respect is seldom to be met with now. None of the misprints are seriously misleading or confusing, except possibly *urbanas* for *urbanus* (p. 136), and *maximis* for *maxime* and *ablatas* for *oblitas* (unless this be an otherwise somewhat unfamiliar emendation) in the third and fourth lines of the long quotation on p. 120.

W. A. OLDFATHER.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

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